



THE FIRST ENGLISH
NEW TESTAMENT
AND LUTHER

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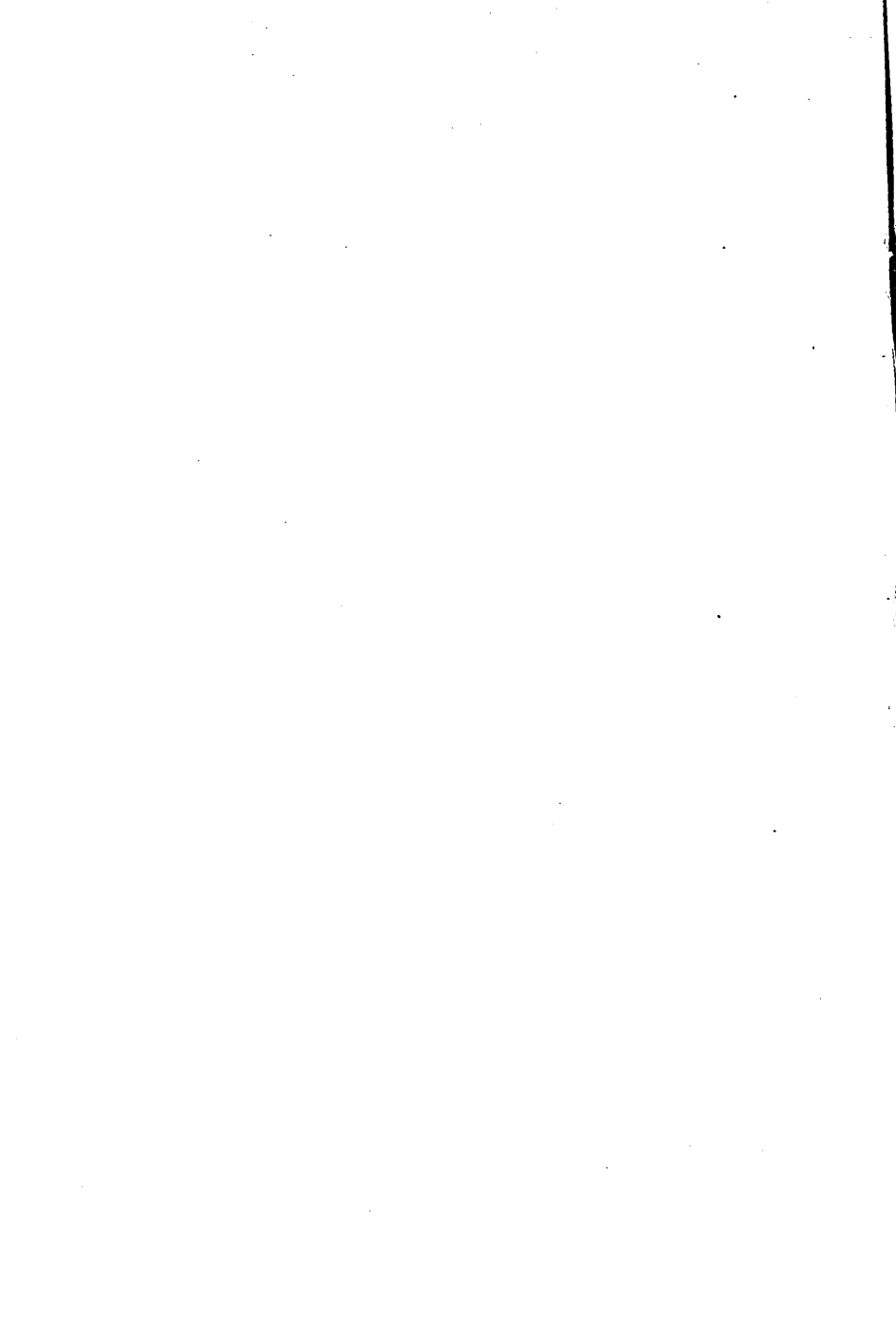
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THE FIRST ENGLISH
NEW TESTAMENT
AND
LUTHER

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AND
LUTHER



THE REAL EXTENT TO WHICH
TYNDALE WAS DEPENDENT UPON LUTHER
AS A TRANSLATOR



By

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"What After Death?"
Etc.

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P R E F A C E



THE Quadricentennial of the beginning of the Reformation, in 1917, was made the occasion of a reexamination of many things associated with that great movement. The personalities of its great leaders, in and with their historic backgrounds, were studied as perhaps never before, both from the Protestant and from the Roman Catholic standpoint. The far-reaching events of the sixteenth century, in which they figured, and their literary labors, were reviewed in the light of the twentieth century, with the keen scrutiny developed by four centuries of history.

Of the great men of that eventful period there is none that received anything like the attention in this fresh study that Luther, the brave monk of Wittenberg, received. Nor is there any other Reformer whom such reweighing in the balances of present-day unbiased critical judgment has found wanting in so few essential particulars. After every fresh examination, and comparison with others, he still stands out like an "Alpine Mountain," as the religious genius in

whose soul the Reformation was born and by whose mighty hand, under God, it was directed toward its consummation; as the restorer of God's unchanging truth from the accumulation of traditions and errors of a millennium; as the matchless translator of the Bible into the vernacular and the consummate expositor of its real doctrinal essence; as the heroic figure that marks the second greatest turning point in human history.

In attempts to ascertain a proper measure of the greatness of Luther he has often been compared with other Reformers. But such a measure in itself might have but a *relative* value. If the contemporaries of a man were all relatively small men, the standard by which such a man might naturally be measured would be small; and though he might be great as compared with them, he might still be small as compared with men of another period. But historians have vied with one another in lauding the greatness and the deeds of the contemporaries of Luther. Indeed, on this point, both friends and foes of the Reformation will perhaps agree, namely, that throughout the Christian centuries there has been no period with a greater array of truly great men than that of the Reformation. But, of the great men of that period, Luther, with his many-sided genius, must be acknowledged to have been incomparably the greatest. Thus a suggestive comparison of Zwingli with Luther might be made through Carlstadt. While Carlstadt was associated with the Wittenberg Reformers and the far-reaching Reformatory Move-

ment in its full swing there, he was a small man as compared with Luther; later on, when associated with Zwingli and his co-workers in the more local Swiss Reformation he was considered, and undoubtedly was, great.

But Luther was great not only as compared with all his contemporary Reformers in every land, but also as compared with the truly great men of all ages. Our own admiration continues to grow with continued study of the man, of his prodigious literary output, and of the Titanic movement which must always be identified with his overmastering personality. Indeed, in a sense, Luther was the Reformation. We marvel also at the vast range of his versatility and the genuine catholicity of his teaching, at what might be called the timelessness of his outlook upon truth and upon events and the consequent freshness or uptodateness of his attitude toward many great world-problems. But why say more? We believe we can truthfully say that Luther was one of the few truly great outstanding characters of all time—men who have turned the world's history into totally different channels and who belong thereafter to all future ages.

It is therefore no discredit to a contemporary Reformer to compare him or his work with Luther; it should rather be an honor to be compared with one so great. The following comparison of Tyndale with Luther is therefore not meant to minimize the work of Tyndale. It is meant only to subserve the interests of

the truth as to a much debated point, namely, the extent, if any, to which Tyndale was dependent upon Luther as a translator of the Bible.

The subject which we are discussing is thus not a new one. As will appear in Part I., it is virtually as old as the two historic publications of which it treats. But, while it is an old one in that sense, it is one that, in another sense, is ever new and fresh. Moreover, it will also be seen that it has hitherto persisted in remaining an *open question*. What contribution this *first-hand* fresh study may humbly make to this historically and bibliographically interesting subject, we shall leave to the judgment of the candid reader.

The substance of the following comparison of Tyndale's Cologne New Testament (1525) with the New Testament published by Luther, together with our conclusions, we first offered as a Quadricentennial study in several issues of the *Lutheran Church Review*, 1916-1917. A little later it was issued separately in book form. But copies of the *Church Review* may be inaccessible to many who are interested in the subject, while the edition in book form was soon exhausted and is now out of print. Some of the writer's *conclusions*, with various new elements, were published also in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, as a Quadricentennial offering in commemoration of the publication of Luther's New Testament (1522). As considerable interest, both in America and abroad, has been manifested in these investigations, and as there have been many calls for co-

pies of the above which could not be supplied, we believe that this revised and somewhat enlarged publication on the subject will be welcomed. We therefore send it forth on its intended mission.

January 6, 1928

L. Franklin Gruber

Maywood, Illinois

PART ONE

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

I

WHAT TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT WAS CALLED



It is a rather singular fact that Tyndale's New Testament was regarded by enemies of the Reformation, both in England and on the Continent, as "Luther's New Testament in English." It is altogether likely, however, that their first examination of this new book in the reformatory movement was somewhat superficial. At any rate, it was not likely at first sufficiently thorough-going to warrant so sweeping a conclusion. And yet, if we transport ourselves back to their time and in thought place ourselves in the midst of the great religious upheaval of that period, and consider the matter from their point of view, we can readily understand how natural such an inference must have been.

The conflict with the long established order had begun in Wittenberg in 1517, and at the time of the appearance of Tyndale's first New Testament in 1525 it had reached menacing proportions. Almost every

significant event associated with that conflict was somehow considered as emanating from Luther as its great directing genius. Tyndale was known to be on the Continent, and the current rumor was that some of the time he was spending in Wittenberg. Moreover, when his Cologne New Testament publication appeared its printed page closely resembled the corresponding page of Luther's New Testament, which had already passed through three folio editions—September, 1522; December, 1522; and 1524. It was therefore quite natural to think that at last Luther's New Testament was making its appearance in the English language. Hence, loyalty to the Church demanded that this, like all other Lutheran publications, must be suppressed before it could do its supposedly deadly work of infecting the people of England with the heresies of the sect of Luther.

In further confirmation of what is said above, we shall now give several quotations from contemporary writers, in which the name "Luther's Testament in English" is applied to Tyndale's New Testament. These, as also the numerous other quotations that will appear throughout this book, we shall reproduce with their quaint spelling exactly as they appear in the originals.

In *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More*, 1529, chapter eight of the third book, occur the following striking words: "It is/quod I/to me gret meruayl/that eny good cristen man, hauing eny drop of wyt in hys hed/

would eny thing meruell or complayn of the burning of that boke if he knowe the mater which who so callith the new testament calleth it by a wrong name/except they wyl call yt Tyndals testament or Luthers testament. For so had tyndall after Luthers counsayle corrupted & chaunged yt from the good & holsom doctryne of Criste to the deuylysh heresydes of theyr own/that it was clene a contrary thing."

So also in the *Commentaria Iohannis Cochlaei, de Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri*, etc., 1549, we find this passage: "Verum Duo Angli Apostatae, qui aliquandiu fuerant Vuittembergae, non solum quaerebant subuertere Mercatores suos, qui eos occulte in exilio fouebant & alebant: Verum etiam cunctos Angliae populos, uolente nolente Rege, breui per nouum Lutheri Testamentum, quod in Anglicanam traduxerant linguam, Lutheranos fore sperabant"—But two English apostates who sometime had been at Wittenberg, not only were seeking to ruin their own merchants, who secretly were fostering and supporting them in exile; but they were even hoping for all the people of England, whether the King were willing or unwilling, soon to become Lutherans, through Luther's New Testament, which they had translated into the English language.

And again, a few pages farther on in the same publication, in giving an account of how he discovered that the New Testament was being printed in Cologne, Cochlaeus says that several printers had told him how

England was to be won over to Luther; “*Nempe uersari sub praelo Tria Milia Exemplarium Noui Testamenti Lutherani, in Anglicanam linguam translati, ac processum esse iam ad literam Alphabeti K. in ordine Quaternionum*—Namely, that three thousand copies of the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language, were in the press, and that they had proceeded as far as the letter K in the order of quires.

Other passages showing that contemporaries considered Tyndale's New Testament at least largely a translation of Luther's Testament into English, will be given under the next head, and some additional ones, when we consider more in detail such contemporary evidence for the connection between these two men.

II

CONTEMPORARY REFERENCES TO MARGINAL NOTES, ETC



E shall now cite a few passages in which an attempt is made to establish what was considered Tyndale's manifest heretical connection with Luther, from a comparison of the *notes*, etc.. of Tyndale's New Testament with those of Luther's New Testament.

In a letter of February 24 (probably 1527) to Henry Gold, the chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Ridley writes: "Maister gold I hartly commaunde me vnto you/as concernyng this common & vulgare translation of the new testament in to englishe/doon by M. William hichyns/other wais called M. W. tyndale & frear William roy/manifest lutheranes heretikes & apostates/as doth opynly apeir not only by their daily & continuall company & familiarite with Luther & his disciples/but mych mor by their comentares & annotations in Mathew & Marcum/in the first print/also by their preface in the 2d prent/& by

their introduccion in to the epistle of paulē ad romanes/
al to gither most posoned & abhominable hereses that
can be thowht/he is not filius ecclessiae christi," etc.
Ridley here was probably somewhat confused as to the
two prints or editions referred to, for, while the first
or Cologne print did have *annotations*, etc., the second
or Worms print did not have a *preface*. It had an
epilogue, *To the Reder*, instead. As to the *Introduc-
tion to Romans*, it might be said that the language
would indicate that this statement has reference rather
to a separate edition of that *Introduction*. Al-
though it has generally been denied that a copy of
such an edition is extant, there is one, without date
and place of printing, in the Bodleian Library. But,
as precision of language was not a prevailing virtue
in that day, it is not altogether certain whether it does
here refer to such a separate edition. And yet, as the
earliest form or issue of this *Introduction* extant in
connection with the New Testament is found in the edi-
tion of November, 1534, it must almost certainly re-
fer to the separate edition.

Again, in *A copy of the letters wherein our
souerayne lorde kyng Henry the eyght made
answere vnto a certayne letter of Martyn Luther
(1526-27)*, we read: "And thrypon without answe-
re had from vs/nat onely publysshed the same letter and
put it in print/of purpose that his adherentes shulde
be the bolder/vnder the shadowe of our fauour/but
also fell in deuyce with one or two leude persons/
borne in this our realme/for the translatyng of the

Newe testament in to Englysshe/as well with many corruptions of that holy text/as certayne prefaces/and other pestylent gloses in the margentes/for the aduancement and setting forthe of his abhominable heresydes/entendynge to abuse the gode myndes and deuotion/that you oure derely beloued people beare/towarde the holy scripture/& to enfect you with the deedly corruption and contagious odour of his pestylent errorrs."

These and other passages that might be cited, refer to certain *commentaries* or *annotations* in Matthew and Mark, certain *glosses* in the margins—as well as to *prefaces* and *introductions*—as manifest evidences of Tyndale's confederacy with Luther and of the open connection of his New Testament with that of Luther.

III

EARLY BIBLIOGRAPHERS PERPLEXED



OR a great many years, such passages as we have cited in the preceding division, perplexed bibliographers. Just what such *prefaces* and *introductions*, and especially such *annotations* or *glosses*, might have been, could not definitely be determined. There were indeed copies of later editions of Tyndale's New Testament (1534, etc.) extant; but no one knew of the existence of any copy of the earliest edition with notes, etc., reported to have been published. It is important, of course, to remember that the above two passages, as well as some others of a similar nature, belong to 1527, or even earlier. They, therefore, antedate the printing of any copy of Tyndale's New Testament with notes, definitely identified up to nearly a century ago. Even the Worms edition, *without notes*, etc., was unknown for over two centuries. Some idea as to the meaning of such passages could be formed, however, from known copies of the later editions, noted above. But even as to some of these and their real existence there

was only rumor or tradition. And the contents of those few copies that were known to be extant, were practically unknown except to their owners. Indeed, those who owned, or knew about, them, either did not have access to, or did not think of comparing them with, copies of early editions of Luther's New Testament.

Thus the real connection between the New Testaments of Luther and Tyndale was long overlooked. And, of course, references to such connection by contemporaries of these men were generally explained away as rather hasty conclusions on their part. These conclusions were supposed to have been based upon the fact that Tyndale was believed to have been at Wittenberg, and that because he, like Luther, published a New Testament, it must be that of Luther in the English language. Indeed, some contended that this was due to the fact, that work of the same nature as that of Luther was then generally attributed to, or associated with, him. So generally was this explanation of the statements of Tyndale's contemporaries accepted, that practically all connection between Tyndale and Luther was almost categorically denied. This denial, even to the extent of arbitrarily declaring that Tyndale never saw Wittenberg or had anything to do with the Continental reformer, has to a considerable extent persisted even to our own day.

IV

THE MYSTERY CLEARED UP BY THE FINDING OF THE COLOGNE FRAGMENT



E are not left entirely without evidence that throws light upon contemporary references to *certain prefaces* and *pestilent glosses*. In the year 1836 Mr. Thomas Rodd of London found, bound up with a small quarto tract of Oecolampadius, a curious fragment of 31 leaves of St. Matthew's Gospel, in old black letter type. This fragment, upon careful comparison with books printed by Peter Quentel of Cologne, was finally proved to have been printed by that printer, either during or before 1526. This date was determined chiefly from the fact that a woodcut of St. Matthew used therein, was used also, slightly cut down, in a work by Rupertus, entitled *In Matthaeum*, from the same press, bearing the date M. D. XXVI., and known to have been finished by June 12. That this New Testament fragment was therefore printed during the early months of, or before, 1526, and at Cologne, by Peter Quentel, was evident. By comparing its text with

that of later editions of Tyndale's New Testament, it was proved to be a fragment of the famous *Cologne English New Testament*, with glosses, etc., 1525, referred to by Cochlaeus, *et al.* This precious fragment came into the hands of Thomas Grenville, by whom it was bequeathed to the British Museum for permanent preservation.

A word should here be said also as to the history of the only complete copy of the Worms octavo edition known to be extant. Probably only about a year or two before the death of Lord Oxford (1741), Mr. John Murray somewhere purchased for him a curious copy of the New Testament, which proved to be of Tyndale's Worms or octavo edition, for which he was rewarded with a gift of ten guineas and an annuity of 20 pounds for life. Upon the dispersion of Lord Oxford's Harleian Library by the bookseller Osborne, 1743, this copy was bought by the bibliographer Ames for 15 shillings. At Langford's sale of Ames's books, May 13, 1760, it was sold for 14½ guineas to Mr. John White, who on May 13, 1776, sold it to Dr. Andrew Gifford for twenty guineas. In 1784, Dr. Gifford bequeathed it to the Baptist College at Bristol, England, where it has found a permanent resting place. Another, but very imperfect copy is in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

But as we are here dealing more particularly with what we shall now definitely call the *Cologne Frag-*

ment, above spoken of, we shall now resume our consideration of the same.

From this priceless Cologne Fragment, which was photo-lithographed and published in a limited edition by Edward Arbor in 1871, the references to pestilent glosses, etc., made by Tyndale's contemporaries—some of them as early as 1526—became clear. There is the long "prologge" or *introduction* referred to by some writers, and along the outer margin of the text are the so-called commentaries or *pestilent glosses*, in the form of explanatory notes, while along the inner margins are the *parallel references*.

Over a half century ago, even before the publication of Arbor's facsimile edition, Brooke Foss Westcott, the great New Testament critic, compared this Cologne Fragment with a copy of Luther's New Testament. The result was that he at once recognized a similarity between the two, especially as to the table of the books of the New Testament, and found that some whole paragraphs of Tyndale's *prologge* were translations from Luther's introduction. The most important results of this investigation he published in his excellent *History of the English Bible* (1868), in which he gives, however, a far more thorough analysis of Tyndale's Worms octavo New Testament and later editions, and their relation to Luther's New Testament. He, however, stoutly denied any great, or at least servile, dependence of Tyndale upon Luther as a translator.

Mr. Arbor in his *Preface* to his *facsimile reprint* gives us the results of a more careful comparison of the Cologne Fragment with Luther's New Testament, made for him by J. Baynes, Esq., of the British Museum. In addition to part of the *prologge*, a great many *notes* and *references* are here traced to Luther. Demaus, also, as the result of a similar comparison of the Cologne Fragment with Luther's *first* edition, is moved to acknowledge a very striking similarity between them, and a manifest dependence of Tyndale upon Luther, especially as to most of the *marginal notes* (*William Tyndale*, p. 129). Some other writers on the history of the English Bible, largely following these investigators, also acknowledge some such dependence. But many are unwilling to make such a concession, or rather prefer to remain silent on the subject. As very few writers have had access to copies of the earliest editions of Luther's New Testament, they have generally accepted what has been said by others, to which they have therefore added practically no further evidence. Many of them have preferred rather even to take the view of earlier writers, or have at least refused to make as much concession as did Westcott, Arbor and Demaus. Moreover, even original investigators have apparently not had access to, or at least did not compare Tyndale's Fragment with, copies of *all* the Wittenberg editions of Luther's New Testament printed before 1526, which were evidently accessible to Tyndale. Even such comparisons as have actually been made with *one* copy of Luther's New Testa-

ment, seem not to have been exhaustive. Therefore, a fresh presentation of the most important contemporary evidence, as well as such evidence as is afforded by *all* the Wittenberg editions probably accessible to Tyndale, is important.

V

CONTEMPORARIES ON TYNDALE'S ASSOCIATION WITH LUTHER



N *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More* (1529), from which we have already quoted, folio 80, we read, "For now yt ys to be consydered that at the tyme of thys translacyon hychens was wyth Luther in wyttenberge/ and set certayne glosys in the mergent/ framed for the setting forthe of that vngracious sect.

"By saynt John quod your frende yf that be true that Hychens were at that time with Luther/it is a playne token that he wrought sumwhat after hys counsayle/ and was wyllynge to helpe hys maters forwarde here. But whyther Luthers matters be so badde as they be made for/that shall we see hereafter.

"Very true quod I. But as touchyng the confederacye betwene Luther and hym/is a thyng well known and playnly confessed/by suche as haue ben taken and

conuycted here of herysye comyng from thense/and some of them sente hyther fro sowe that sede aboute here/and to sende words thyther fro tyme to tyme how yt sprang." Then the author attempts somewhat at length to trace Tyndale's change of the words *charity*, *church* and *priesthood* or *priest* to Luther. And elsewhere More says that, as soon as Tyndale left England, he went straight to Luther. Nor did Tyndale deny that he had been at Wittenberg, but he denies only that he was a *confederate* of Luther. This undoubtedly means that he denied co-operation with Luther in the Reformation, or perhaps that he denied endorsing all Luther's acts and teachings. But it does not involve a denial of the use of his *translation*, etc. Hence, though More apparently accepted Tyndale's denial of being a confederate of Luther, in his *Confutation* issued later he still speaks of him as having been at Wittenberg.

Thus, Sir Thomas More, one of the ablest and keenest critics of his day, concluded from such evidence as he had, that Tyndale had been with Luther at Wittenberg, and that this accounted for Tyndale's *marginal glosses* and certain renderings in his translation, which he claimed he recognized as being taken from Luther's New Testament. Indeed, he declares that it was *well known* that there was an association of Tyndale with Luther, as also confessed by convicted English heretics.

Of similar import are the following words from a letter of Edward Lee to Henry VIII., Dec. 2 (1525): "Please it your highnesse morover to vnderstond/that

I ame certainlie enformed as I passed in this contree/
 that an englishman your subiect at the sollicitacion and
 instaunce of Luther/with whome he is/hathe translated
 the newe testament in to Englishe/and within four
 dayes entendethe to arrive with the same emprinted in
 England. I nede not to aduertise your grace/what in-
 fection and daunger maye ensue heerbie/if it bee not
 withstonded. This is the next waye to fulfill your
 realme with lutherians. . . . Hidretoo blessed bee
 god/your realme is save from infection of luthers sect,"
 etc.

So, in *An expediat laicis*, etc., 1533, Cochlaeus says,
 "Etenim ante annos octo, duo ex Anglia Apostatae, qui
 Vuittenbergae Teuthonicam edocti linguam, Lutheri
 nouum testamentum in linguam Anglicanam uerterant,
 Coloniam Agrippinam uenerunt, tanquam ad urbem
 Angliae uiciniorum, mercatuque celebriorem, et nau-
 igijs ad transmittendum aptiorem, ibique post rusti-
 corum tumultum aliquamdiu latitantes, conduxerunt
 sibi in occulto Chalcographos, ut mox primo aggressu
 tria milia exemplarium imprimerent, Cumque eo in
 opere alacriter ingenti spe procederent, iactitabant
 conscij Bibliopolae et Chalcographi, totam Angliam
 breui fore Lutheranam, uelint nolint Rex et Cardinalis"
 —And indeed eight years before (namely, 1525), two
 apostates from England, who, having been taught the
 German language at Wittenberg, had translated Lu-
 ther's New Testament into the English language, came
 to Cologne, as to a city nearer England, more celebrated
 for commerce, and better equipped with vessels for

transportation; and there after the rebellion of the peasants for a while concealing themselves, they secretly hired printers that thereupon in the first undertaking they might print three thousand copies. And while they proceeded eagerly with great hope in this work, the booksellers and printers who knew of it, boasted that all England would soon be Lutheran, whether the king and cardinal were willing or unwilling.

In like manner, the same writer in his *Scopa*, etc., 1538, speaks of the secret machinations of two Englishmen, “quibus Lutheri Testamentum nouum in Anglicanam linguam unsum, Coloniae excudebatur, ut in Angliam in multis milibus occulte transmitteretur,” etc.—by whom Luther’s New Testament, having been translated into the English language, was struck off at Cologne, that it might secretly be sent in many thousands into England.

So in his work, *Commentaria. . . de Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri*, from which we have already quoted, Cochlaeus speaks of two English apostates who some time had been at Wittenberg.

Fox in his *Actes and Monuments* (4th. ed., 1583), page 997, in speaking of the persecution of “Maister Humfrey Mummuth,” has this, among other things, to say: “Stokesley then Bishop of London, ministred Articles unto him, to the number of xxiiij, as for adhering to Luther and his opinions: for hauing and

reading heretical bookes and treatises, for geuing exhibition to William Tindall, Roy, and such other, for helping them ouer the sea to Luther, for ministring priuie helpe to translate, as well the Testament, as other bookes into English," etc. This he says in the light of Tyndale's denial of actual *confederacy* with Luther, and of More's later declaration that he had been with Luther, as then amply established. In this charge, which, according to the records, Monmouth did not deny, he is accused, among other things in connection with Tyndale and his association with Luther and his teachings, of assisting Tyndale even in getting to Luther. In the articles of accusation brought against Monmouth, 1528, it was, moreover, declared that he was "privy and counsel" that Tyndale and Roy went to Luther in Germany to study his sect, which declaration also Monmouth did not deny.

Then, from the further abundant evidence at hand, a little farther on in the same work Fox definitely declares, "At his first departing out of the realme, he toke his iorny into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men [probably Melanchthon, etc.] in those quarters." '

So also, in the English edition of the answer of Henry VIII. to Luther (probably March, 1527), entitled *A copy of the letters*, etc., as already quoted, Henry charged Luther with being back of Tyndale's transla-

tion of the New Testament, with its *prefaces* and *glosses*, into English.

VI

GEORGE JOYE ON TYNDALE'S ABILITY AS A TRANSLATOR



COME now to some remarkable statements by one of Tyndale's associates and co-workers, namely, George Joye, "some tyme fellow of Peter College in Cambridge," as he himself says.

After Tyndale's first two nearly simultaneous editions (Cologne Matthew, etc., and Worms) of the New Testament had appeared, some Dutch printers, not familiar with the English language, took it into their heads, probably for mercenary reasons, to reprint Tyndale's New Testament. Accordingly, at least two editions, apparently full of errors, mostly of a typographical character, appeared. Then it appears that Tyndale was urged to send forth another and corrected edition, in accordance with his promise in his "To the Reder" at the end of his Worms edition, to offset these erroneous editions, but that he delayed so long that George Joye was asked by these Dutch printers to edit their *third* edition. But Joye, it seems, declined, upon

the plea that a new and corrected edition would soon be issued by Tyndale himself. Thus another erroneous edition was printed without any aid from an English editor.

Again the printers asked Joye, and now, seeing that Tyndale still delayed in issuing a new edition, Joye consented and accordingly edited this *fourth* Dutch edition. It ended with the following colophon: "Here endeth the new Testament diligently ouersene and corrected/and prynted now agayn at Antwerpe/by me wydowe of Christoffel of Endhouē. In the yere of oure Lorde. M.CCCCC. and. xxxiiij. in August." The only copy of this edition extant is in the Grenville Collection of the British Museum. It might also be stated that not a single copy of any of the earlier surreptitious editions printed between Tyndale's Worms edition of 1525-26 and this edition edited by Joye, survived the desolation of the English Reformation. Therefore, nothing further than mere report or rumor is known of them, although the market of the time was flooded with these reprints or imitations, even as to a much greater extent the German book market was flooded from many presses with reprints of Luther's matchless translation of the New Testament and other parts of the Bible, as well as of the whole Bible, against which he repeatedly protested.

Tyndale would, however, now no longer allow these surreptitious and poorly edited editions to circulate among the English people, unchallenged and without a

corrected competitor. He accordingly, in November of the same year, followed this edition edited by Joye with a more correct edition of his own. In this appeared a second preface, "Willyam Tindale/yet once more to the christen reader." In this he bitterly takes Joye to task for supposedly corrupting the text of his translation. A temporary reconciliation between Tyndale and Joye, brought about by friends, followed. Thereupon Joye issued a second edition, dated January 9, 1535, in which, in an address "Vnto the Reader," though mildly defending his former edition, he sets forth the terms of agreement between himself and Tyndale. Another break, probably caused by this explanation of Joye, followed. Then Joye issued a lengthy defense of his position, February 27, 1535, entitled "An apologye made by George Ioye to satisfye (if it maye be) w. Tindale," etc., the only known extant copy of which is in the Library of the University of Cambridge, England.

In this tract Joye gives an account of the temporary agreement between himself and Tyndale, which he says Tyndale has broken. He then defends himself against Tyndale's vehement attacks upon him in the *second preface* to the November edition of his New Testament—in the second part quoting and answering Tyndale's *preface*, paragraph by paragraph. Although Joye was no doubt moved, by his controversy with Tyndale, to unusual bitterness and some exaggeration, his testimony is here given for what it may be worth in the

light of the comparison of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment with Luther's New Testament, to be given later.

Near the beginning of the second part of this tract, in commenting upon Tyndale's statement about having again looked over the New Testament and compared it with the Greek, Joye says, "It was but loked ouer in deed nothings performing his so large promyses added in the later ende of his first translacion [Worms] to the reader/and I wounder how he coude compare yt with greke sith himselfe is not so exquysitely sene thereyn." In this paragraph he declares that Tyndale was not very proficient in the Greek language, and this apparently without fear of refutation on the part of either Tyndale or his friends.

Incidentally, it should be said that this statement by Joye about "promyses added in the later ende of the first translacion to the reader," clearly implies that the first *completed* edition of the New Testament was the small *octavo*, without *marginal notes* and *preface*, printed at Worms. It is thus evident that the interrupted *Cologne edition* was never finished. From various other contemporary statements, we have come to the conclusion that it was finished, however, to the end of Mark. And this would seem altogether possible. When Cochlaeus discovered the printing of the New Testament, he found that it had been completed to signature K. But, it is altogether likely that the type had already been set up for additional sheets, some of which may even also have been struck off before Tyndale

knew that he was discovered, and therefore before he and his co-worker William Roye started on their flight up the Rhine toward Worms. And, even if not actually struck off, it is quite likely that the type as far as set up, together with the necessary sheets, was taken along by the refugees, who may even have had sympathetic laborers or other assistants to help them. Thus, it is altogether probable that the Cologne edition was actually completed to the end of Mark, only Matthew as far as the end of signature H, or more definitely as far as the twelfth verse of the twenty-second chapter, being extant in the famous Grenville Fragment. This would also explain the contemporary references to an edition of Matthew and Mark. But, from what we have said above, it is equally certain that the whole New Testament was not thus completed, as is often asserted by writers. Moreover, the type and paper of the Cologne press could hardly have been matched by type and paper at Worms, so as to make a homogeneous book.

The points noted above should therefore establish the fact, that the *Worms edition* was the *first completed* printed edition of the New Testament in English. This is even implied in Tyndale's *To the Reder* in that edition, in which he makes an apology, "that the rudnes off the worke nowe at the fyrst tyme/offende them not." The same is implied in his prologue *To the Reder* in his Genesis of 1530, in which he speaks of the Worms edition as his translation of the New Testament, to which he "added a pistle vnto the latter ende."

It is, indeed, true that Cochlaeus speaks of the publication of a quarto edition at Worms, but this is apparently a statement only from memory, as he wrote this some years after the first appearance of the book he describes. He was therefore probably somewhat confused as to the precise facts. It is not altogether unlikely that he had reference to the fragmentary edition of Matthew and Mark, spoken of above.

But, to resume our analysis of Joye's account, two pages farther on he says, "And what T. dothe I wote not/he maketh me nothing of his counsel/I se nothyng come from him all this longe whyle. wherin with the helpe that he hathe/that is to saye one bothe to wryte yt and to correke it in the presse/he myght haue done it thryse sence he was first moued to do it. For T. I know wel was not able to do yt with out siche an helper which he hathe euer had hitherto." In this paragraph, in defending his action in co-operating with the Dutch printers in issuing an edition, Joye charged Tyndale with unnecessary delay in himself issuing a revised edition, declaring that with such helpers as he had there was no excuse, while he incidentally points out a very prominent part these helpers had in the work of translating and printing.

Of these two helpers he says a page later, "And as for his two disciplis that gaped so longe for their masters morsel that thei might haue the aduauntage of the sale of his bokis of which one sayd vnto me. It were almose he were hanged that correcketh the testa-

ment for the dewch/and the tother harped on his masters vntwined string/saying that because I englissh Resurreccion the lyfe aftir this/men gathered that I denied the general resurreccion: which errour (by their own sayng) was gathred longe before this boke was printed/vnto which ether of theis disciples I semed no honest man for correcking the cople/I wil not now name them/nor yet shew how one of them/neuer I dare say seyng. *s. Ierome de optimo genere interpretandi*/ yet toke vpon him to teche me how I shuld translat the scripturis/where I shuld geue worde for worde/and when I shulde make scholias/notis/and gloses in the mergent as himself and hys master doith. But in good faithe as for me I had as lief put the trwthe in the text as in the margent," etc. Joye here defends himself not merely against Tyndale but also against his two associates, and incidentally throws some light upon the method used by Tyndale and his helpers in the work of translating and annotating the text, apparently attributing at least the glosses to them as much as to Tyndale. He apparently here refers to some mechanical process in translating, perhaps implying even the *copying* of notes, etc., the source of which Joye no doubt well knew.

In reply to Tyndale's appeal to God that he wrote nothing out of envy or malice, or in order to stir up false doctrine, Joye says: "Here is an holy othe broken/and a perellouse desyer/yf the contrary to be trewe/For here he rayleth vpon me/he belyeth me/

he sclaundereth me and that most spightfully with a perpetual infamy: whiche al yf yt be not of enuy/malice/and hatred of what els shulde yt spring?" Then immediately follows this startling statement: "And euen here for all his holy protestacions/yet herd I neuer sobre and wyse man so prayse his owne workis as I herde him praise his exposition of the v. vj. and vij. ca. Mat. in so myche that myne eares glowed for shame to here him/and yet was it Luther that made it/T. onely translating and powldering yt here and there with his own fantasies. which praise methought yt then better to haue ben herde of a nother mannis mouth/for it declared out of what affeccion yt sprang euen farre vnlyk and contrarye vnto these whiche he now professeth and protesteth so holely for wordis be the messageris of mennis myndis." In the first part of this passage Joye attempts to show that Tyndale was moved with envy, etc., to make his bitter attack upon himself. Then he endeavors to show that back of Tyndale's attitude of envy, etc., there was really pride, as manifested by his praise of his own works. As an instance he cites Tyndale's *Exposition of Matthew v.—vii.*, which Joye declares Tyndale merely translated and adapted from Luther. And, while Tyndale unmistakably based his *Exposition* upon, and freely used, Luther's *Expository Sermons* of 1530 (printed in 1532), it should, however, be said that he used them in a manner that might be considered more legitimate than that with which he used Luther's glosses and some other of his writings.

In a passage following the above, in commenting upon Tyndale's professed motive in translation, Joye says among other things: "For in good fayth/ and as I shal answere before god/ere he came to one place of the testament to be last corrected/I tolde his scribe/euen him that wrote and correckted the testament for him/that there was a place in the begynnyng of the vj. cap. of the actis somewhat derkely translated at fyrst/ and that I had mended it in my correction and bode him shew yt Tin. to mende yt also/yf yt be so sene vnto him/and I dare saye he shewd yt him/but yet because I fownde the fawte and had corrected yt fefore/ Tin. had leuer to haue let yt (as he did for all my warnyng) stande styll derkely in his new correccion," etc. Then follows the passage spoken of. Joye here speaks of an assistant of Tyndale, who, he says, wrote and corrected the Testament for him, as a fact to him well known. Nor does the passage imply merely a mechanical copying. In speaking of this corrector, Joye does not, however, imply that Tyndale was not also properly active in this work of translation. He also speaks of a correction which he pointed out, through this assistant, to Tyndale, but says that, because it was he who pointed it out, Tyndale would rather let it stand than have it corrected to Joye's credit.

A few pages later, he defends himself against Tyndale's criticism of the changes in his (Joye's) edition of the New Testament, in the following words: "And I saye/I haue made many changes which yf T. had had

siche sight in the greke as he pretendeth and conferred yt diligently with the greke as he sayth he did/he shulde haue made the same changes him selfe/which places I shal poynt him to here after/but yet let Tindale loke ouer his Testament once agene and conferre yt a lytle beter withe the verite and greke to/I wolde euery man wolde compare my correction wyth his/and marke well euery change/and he shall se that I changed some wordis and sentencis/which T. afir me was compelled euen as I did/so to change and correcke them himselfe.”

In this passage Joye again speaks of certain corrections that he made, but which were overlooked by Tyndale (1534 edition), and of others that Tyndale adopted, strongly hinting at only ordinary knowledge of the Greek language on the part of Tyndale, as against what he professed.

And again, about two pages still farther on, in speaking of Tyndale's supposed evasiveness in defending his translation, Joye adds: “If he were so wel sene in the greek as he maketh him selfe/doing siche diligence in this his correccion as he pretendeth and professeth/he shulde haue lefte out some of so many vayne and fryuole notis in the mergent nothing corresponding nor expowning the texte.” Following this statement he cites examples in illustration. In this passage also Joye seriously questions Tyndale's professed knowledge of Greek, as shown in his 1534 edition of the New Testament, especially in some alleged inapplicable notes, as well as in various uncorrected erroneous passages in the translation.

This testimony of George Joye, which we have given somewhat at length, is before us. But it would not do for any one to pass hasty judgment upon this testimony alone. Further evidence is available, especially from Tyndale's Testament. And only in the light of all the evidence can one really pass an unbiased intelligent judgment. To what extent Joye's testimony is *reliable*, will appear from our examination of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment itself.

VII

CONTEMPORARY TESTIMONY DISCREDITED BY MOST HISTORIANS



T has stoutly been denied by some writers that Tyndale was ever at Wittenberg, or even that he was to any marked extent dependent upon Luther. Thus Christopher Anderson in his well-known *Annals of the English Bible* (1845 and 1862) firmly declares: "This idea of Tyndale's immediate and intimate confederacy with Luther, and his dependence upon him, originally imported from abroad, through men who were, at the moment, under the torture of examination in England, has been repeated from Sir Thomas More and John Cochlaeus, two determined enemies, not to say John Foxe, a decided friend, down to Herbert Marsh in our own day; but it is more than time that it should be exploded" (p. 24). As a proof of this statement, Anderson refers to Tyndale's denial of being a *confederate* of Luther, which we have already explained.

Another supposed proof Anderson cites, is the fact

that in Monmouth's appeal for release from the Tower of London—where he was imprisoned for financially aiding Tyndale and abetting his heresies—he says that Monmouth paid Tyndale ten pounds when he went to Hamburg and “that *within a year* after he sent from *Hamburg* for other ten pounds which he had left in his hands, and that *thither* he had sent it to him” (*Ibid.*, p. 25). From this Anderson draws the unwarranted conclusion that Tyndale “remained in Hamburg throughout 1524.” Indeed, it is only natural that Hamburg, where he first stopped, should be the place from which to appeal to Monmouth for more funds; but it is faulty reasoning to conclude that Tyndale remained there during that whole interval of a year, especially in the light of abundant contemporary evidence and abundant circumstantial internal evidence from his New Testament—to be given later—to the contrary. Moreover, Anderson falsely quotes Tyndale, when he says, “More had affirmed that Tyndale ‘was *with* Luther *in* Wittenberg’; and Tyndale replies, ‘that is not truth’ ” (*Ibid.*, p. 26). The words of Tyndale, “that is not truth,” are Tyndale's answer to the charge that he was a *confederate* of Luther, as explained before, not to a charge that he was in Wittenberg, or with Luther.

So Anderson's further contention that Luther was then so occupied with his controversy with Carlstadt, etc., as to forbid approach by Tyndale, is altogether contrary to what is well known concerning Luther's general character and approachableness. Anderson's statements that “Tyndale was not at present, nor

indeed *ever was*, a Lutheran," and that "as a scholar, he needed neither assistance nor advice, from a man with whom he could have conversed only through the medium of Latin" (*Ibid.*, p. 26), are mere groundless assertions. That Tyndale bodily incorporated, by merely translating them from the German, whole pages of Luther's writings, not only in his New Testament *prologue* and in his *introductions* to separate books, but also in some of his *tracts*, is an open secret, as we could easily show. And what appears later from our comparisons between the New Testaments of Luther and Tyndale, should be evidence enough, that Tyndale did abundantly rely upon, and freely use, Luther's New Testament. Even Cochlaeus in *An expediat*, as already noted, declares that Tyndale and Roye learned the German language at Wittenberg.

Moreover, Anderson's quotation from Tyndale's "To the Reder" at the end of his "Worms" New Testament (1525-26), that he "had no man to *counterfeit*" (*Annals*, p. 27), affords no proof for his contention that Tyndale worked independently of Luther. Tyndale there defends only his honest endeavor to translate as well as his gifts or qualifications enabled him, beseeching his Christian readers that they should consider how that he "had no man to counterfet/ nether was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same/or soche lyke thiȝe ī the scripture before tyme." This would rather mean that he was not imitating or following any other *English translation*. Indeed, he definitely says, "nether was holpe with englysshe," etc.;

but he does not make any such statement as to other languages. In the light of this interpretation, these words are no doubt correct, as he was certainly not following the beaten path of any previous *English* translator. The English of Wycliffe's version was not that of Tyndale's time. At any rate, Tyndale apparently did not follow Wycliffe's *translation* to any great extent. But, if his biographers, and writers on the history of the English Bible, insist that he meant versions in other modern languages, then the evidence is overwhelming that this statement would not be correct. On the contrary, it would then seem rather that he was somewhat *afraid* that he might be thought to have followed Luther, or to be a confederate of the German reformer, and that he meant thus to offset such suspicion, as there was much bitterness manifested against Luther, while the English people and their rulers were then not much acquainted with his German version.

We are surprised that Westcott accepted Anderson's conclusions, apparently even without further investigation. In a note at the foot of page 36 of his *History of the English Bible*, he says, "Mr. Anderson successfully disposes of the common tradition that he [Tyndale] visited Luther at this time [1524] . . . Luther indeed was otherwise engaged." Westcott also denied that Tyndale was sufficiently acquainted with German up to the time his New Testament was finished, largely basing his conclusion upon the absence of German from the languages ascribed to Tyndale in Spaldin's dairy, as reported by Busche (*Ibid.*, p. 174). But

this omission is only natural for the German Busche, who, while exaggerating Tyndale's knowledge of other languages, apparently passed over the German as naturally implied.

And yet, Westcott himself admitted that Tyndale's *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount* (1532), was traceable to Luther's German *Expository Sermons* of 1530, as the Latin translation was not made till 1533. He even admitted the possibility of Tyndale's using notes taken by himself, or by some one else (*Ibid.*, p. 196). Indeed, as those German sermons did not appear in print till 1532—the same year in which Tyndale's *Exposition* appeared—it seems altogether likely that Tyndale was one of the entranced audience that heard Luther deliver them, and that he was therefore quite familiar with the German, to appreciate a discourse. Indeed, it is probable that Tyndale was at Wittenberg most of the time from 1527 to 1530. Westcott also acknowledges (*History*, etc., pp. 194-195) that in his *Prologue to Romans* Tyndale freely used both the German and the Latin of Luther's *Preface*. In like manner does he admit that in his short prefaces to various other books in his 1534 edition, Tyndale largely used Luther's German prefaces. He even concedes that this edition indicates, if anything, more dependence upon Luther than do his earlier editions (*Ibid.*, pp. 198-199). However, this is probably due to the fact that he did not fully recognize the extent to which those earlier editions (Cologne and Worms) were dependent upon Luther's earlier editions. De-
v

maus also acknowledges the dependence of Tyndale upon both Luther's Latin and German *Prologue to Romans* (*William Tyndale*, pp. 145-146). However, he erroneously says that no copy of this Prologue by Tyndale in separate form is extant.

It should be said here that, although Ames, Hazlitt and Lowndes note such a separate edition of this *Prologue*, it would by no means necessarily follow from *this* that it now exists. There has been some confusion among bibliographers as to a number of those early prints, some being reported apparently from mere *rumor*. Thus, they have reported several editions of Tyndale's New Testament, both surreptitious and genuine, of which there are certainly no known copies extant. However, the Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England, reports to the writer a copy of *Tyndale's Introduction to Romans* in that famous Library, and he has kindly also furnished him with a description of the same. This separate edition of the *Compendious Introduccion to pistle to Romainys* agrees generally with the version found in the 1534 edition of the New Testament. It is, however, three pages shorter, ending with the words, "the weaknes off my fayth and encrease it." But, whether it was printed in 1526, as is assumed, is not certain, as it bears neither date nor place of printing.

But, that this *Introduccion* in this separate form was printed before its appearance in the 1534 edition of the New Testament, is evident from several facts

that become apparent by comparing the two, especially the fact that it is the shorter and less complete form of it. This is also in line with early contemporary references to this *Introduccion*, as though it circulated as a separate tract. In the light of these facts it is altogether probable that it was printed some time during the year 1526, as has generally been believed.

Westcott's own observation (*History*, p. 185) that in the 1534 edition Tyndale approaches more closely to the Greek original, should have suggested to him that Tyndale's acquaintance with Greek was considerably less in 1525 than in 1534. And yet, despite this fact, he states (p. 182) or implies (p. 185) that Tyndale's 1534 edition even more closely approaches Luther's translation than do his 1525 editions. This, then, should also be a convincing evidence of the general accuracy of Luther's translation in the estimation of Tyndale—in the light of his further study—notwithstanding his liberal use of it in 1525. Moreover, Tyndale's partial dependence upon Luther in his 1525 edition, Westcott also acknowledges (pp. 193, sq.).

Among other writers who deny that Tyndale was ever at Wittenberg, etc., are Henry Walter, in his *Biography of Tyndale* in *The Parker Society's* publication of *Tyndale's Works*, 1848; but his arguments are even less satisfactory than are those of Anderson and Westcott. So, also, W. F. Moulton, in his *History of the English Bible*, 1878, denies that Tyndale spent any time at Wittenberg, as also he denies practically all

connection of Tyndale's translation with Luther's (pp. 87, sq.). But, that Moulton either was unfamiliar with Luther's translation, or that he did not compare it with Tyndale's, is evident from his many errors as to the source of certain of Tyndale's renderings (pp. 76-78, and elsewhere)—most of which we have traced directly to Luther.

Many other writers, even apparently without any further investigation, have accepted the statements of these men and have been led to make extravagant claims for Tyndale, which can not bear the light of intelligent scholarship. Thus, Pattison, in his otherwise rather readable *History of the English Bible*, writes thus: "He [Tyndale] has been charged with drawing his inspiration from Luther, but some years before Luther's Bible appeared, Tyndale's mind was full of the purpose of translating the New Testament, and between his work and that of the German Reformer there are only such points of resemblance as are natural in the work of men so like-minded as were they. It was to the Greek text of Erasmus and to his Latin version that Tyndale turned when he set himself to his task" (pp. 47-48). To be sure, Luther's complete Bible appeared first in 1534, but here it is his New Testament that we are dealing with, and that appeared in September, 1522, not to speak of other smaller parts or passages of the Bible, some of which appeared as early as 1517.

A similar misstatement is found in Conant's *Eng-*

- . *lish Bible* (1856), on page 124, for which there is no excuse whatever, as it is not founded upon fact, but upon mere theory or prevenient wish. Even Arbor denies that Tyndale ever was at Wittenberg or ever met Luther (*The First Printed English New Testament*, p. 20), but also altogether without any proof.

The quotation from the diary of Spalatin, entry for August, 1526, often referred to in proof that Tyndale was an unusual linguist, but that he was not familiar with the German language, might here be further examined. It is not Spalatin who thus praised Tyndale's linguistic ability, but he says that one Herman Buschius reported the printing of 6,000 copies of the English Testament at Worms, "translated by an Englishman who lived there with two of his countrymen, who was so complete a master of seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Brittanic, French, that you would fancy that whichever one he spoke in was his mother tongue." This was therefore only a rumor, and by the time it had reached Spalatin it had assumed the form of exaggeration, which it so clearly is. And, of course, as reported by a German to Germans, of a man who was known to have been living for some time in Germany, it was apparently considered that German was *implied* in the statement.

VIII

CONTEMPORARY TESTIMONY ACCEPTED BY SOME WRITERS



HERE are writers on Tyndale and the history of the English Bible who accept the testimony of contemporaries that Tyndale was at Wittenberg during part of 1524 and 1525. Thus, Ellis, in his *William Tyndale* (1890), on page 31, after citing some contemporary evidence, concludes thus: "It seems, therefore, probable that almost immediately after his landing at Hamburg, Tyndale made his way to Wittenberg." As a probable reason, he cites Tyndale's admiration of Luther and his sense of loneliness. Likewise, G. Barnett Smith, in his work on *William Tyndale*, page 34, also acknowledges that Tyndale and Roye were in Wittenberg. In these conclusions these two authors, as do some others, avowedly follow Damaus in his *William Tyndale*, a part of whose arguments they quote.

Of similar conviction is Hoare, "The unanimous evidence of his contemporaries supports the view that he

was at Wittenberg with Luther, and that he worked there at his translation. His modern biographers, on the other hand, keep him in Hamburg for the whole interval" (*The Evolution of the English Bible*, 1901, p. 125). The same author also says, "Speaking generally it may be said that up to the year 1523 Tyndale remained more or less the disciple of his earliest instructors, John Colet and Erasmus. Thenceforward he felt very strongly the influence of Luther" (*Ib.*, p. 109). On page 130 he also acknowledges a somewhat close relation of Tyndale's Cologne New Testament to that of Luther, and yet ascribes to Tyndale originality and independence as a translator, at first hand, of the Greek text. He, however (p. 131), denies that Tyndale was a Lutheran or a sectarian of any kind, basing his denial upon Tyndale's words in the edition of 1534, that he did not mean to stir up false doctrine or be the author of any sect. But this is wholly inconclusive, as Luther also openly denied both.

This dependence of Tyndale upon Luther, Eadie in his great work, *The English Bible* (Vol. I, pp. 143 sq.), also to some extent acknowledges. But he, too, denies that Tyndale was a Lutheran (p. 122), yet with equal inconclusiveness. Mombert, in his *Hand Book of the English Versions*, also acknowledges that Tyndale was at Wittenberg (p. 83), and that he was somewhat dependent upon Luther (p. 89). Stoughton, in his *Our English Bible* (p. 80), also accepts this conclusion. That Tyndale spent some time at Wittenberg is also the position taken by Jacobs in his

work on *The Lutheran Movement in England*, in which he points out not only a manifest general dependence of Tyndale, but also of other English reformers, upon Luther. Among other writers who in the main have accepted this general view, may be mentioned Froude, Green, Offor, Kenyon, Pollard and Price.

A number of able writers—among them Fuller, Hallam, Marsh and LeLong—have not only acknowledged that Tyndale was under the influence of Luther, but they have gone even so far as to hold that he translated his New Testament merely from the Latin Vulgate and Luther's German, and that he was a man of but ordinary scholarship.

Without going to that extreme, we believe, however, without the shadow of a doubt, that, as his contemporaries so repeatedly declared, Tyndale was with Luther at Wittenberg and that probably there he did most of his work of translating the New Testament. As to his ability as a translator, etc., our estimate will appear later. It was also probably in Wittenberg during 1524 or early 1525, that Tyndale was joined by Roye, who for some time became his necessary assistant for the speedy translation and preparation of the copy for the printer.

But we must conclude this part of our discussion with a brief summary of what seem to be unmistakable historic facts. In 1525 we find Tyndale again at Hamburg, where he received a second installment

of money from Monmouth. Thence Tyndale and Roye went to Cologne, where the printing was carried through at least as far as signature K (10 quires), when it was interrupted by that inveterate foe of the Reformation, John Doebneck, better known as Cochlaeus. Thence they fled up the Rhine to Lutheran Worms, where the octavo edition was prepared, and printed by Peter Schoeffer, and where the quarto edition, with notes, etc., interrupted at Cologne, was probably also completed to the end of Mark, thus explaining many contemporary references to these Gospels.

While Tyndale was at Cologne and at Worms, engaged in printing his Testament, William Roye was his intimate companion and helper, as already noted. Even during his work of translation, which we believe was largely performed at Wittenberg, Roye was also supposed to have assisted him. But this helper apparently left Tyndale early in 1526. Then Joye, of whose testimony concerning Tyndale we have spoken somewhat at length, was associated with Tyndale about four years later, and probably much earlier. We find references to him in connection with Tyndale already in documents relating to 1529 and 1530. Thus, he is spoken of in *Halle's Chronicle* as co-translator of the New Testament, with Tyndale. In 1533 he even made a personal appeal by letter to the King and Queen of England for a license to translate Scripture.

Joye was apparently for three or four years with the English refugees at Antwerp, and was seemingly

quite closely associated with Tyndale. Even his polemical *Apology*, from which we have quoted, incidentally throws considerable light upon the intimate association of Joye with Tyndale. In addition to the evidence of his connection with Tyndale that appears in passages already quoted, near the end of his *Apology* he appealingly declares: "But yt was thou [Tyndale] my nowne felowe/my companion in lyke perel and persecution/my familiare/so well knowne/vnto whom I committed solouingly my secretis/with whom gladly I went into the house of god." Nor did Tyndale anywhere deny this close former association.

Joye's statements concerning Tyndale's ability as a translator and his dependence upon Luther, as to glosses, text, etc., though they need not wholly be accepted should, therefore, have considerable evidential value in arriving at the true measure of Tyndale as a Greek scholar and Bible translator. He knew Tyndale intimately, and his methods in translation, at first hand, as well as through others. And, as we shall see, the following direct comparison of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment with Luther's Testament, largely confirms Joye's testimony, however unfortunate we may regard his acrimonious attack upon Tyndale to have been.

The general testimony of Tyndale's contemporaries as to his connection with Luther and his dependence upon him as a translator, can not lightly be disregarded. Nor can the statements of George Joye be set aside as of no evidential value, because of the unfortunate per-

sonal differences between him and Tyndale. The testimony is before us, and only positive counter-testimony to neutralize it could convince the unbiased reader to the contrary. Indeed, there has been no lack of attempts to overcome this contemporary testimony, as we have indicated; but all such attempts have failed to establish Tyndale's supposedly *extraordinary* ability and *independence* as a translator.

We have already shown how the finding of the fragment of the quarto Cologne New Testament threw new light upon contemporary accounts. We have learned that some direct dependence of Tyndale's New Testament upon Luther's has been pointed out by various investigators, however much certain writers have tried to deny this dependence. In *Part Two* we shall proceed to a fresh and thorough examination of the contents of that Cologne Fragment in further development of this long debated subject. Thus we shall be able to determine to what extent, if any, the testimony of Tyndale's contemporaries is reliable.

PART TWO

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL FACTS

I

THE "PROLOGGE"



HAT Tyndale's *prologge* is in good part taken from Luther is even already an open secret. Two entire pages of this *prologge* are a literal translation of what constitutes over half of Luther's *Vorrhede* alone.

The following is a reproduction in parallel columns of the part of Luther's introduction used by Tyndale and Tyndale's version or use of it. We reproduce the *Vorrhede* of Luther, as well as the *prologge* of Tyndale, from the beginning, as far as Tyndale more openly followed Luther. The point at which Tyndale directly begins to translate Luther, and his bodily appropriation of whole paragraphs, is, of course, readily recognized by the reader.

We give Luther's *Vorrhede verbatim et literatim* from his *first* edition—indicating variations, other than those of mere spelling, in the second and third editions—as also we give Tyndale's *prologge* from the Cologne

Fragment. Hence, some apparent errors in spelling, etc., even for that day.

THE TWO INTRODUCTIONS

Luther: First Edition
September, 1522

Vorrhede

Tyndale: Cologne Fragment
1525

The Prologge.

I haue here translated (brethern and susters moost dere and tenderly beloued in Christ) the newe Testament for youre spirituall edyfyinge/consolacion/and solas: Exhortynge instantly and besescynge those that are better sene in the tongs then y/and that have hyer gyfts of grace to interpret the sence of the scripture/and meanyng of the spyrite/then y/to consydre and pondre my laboure/and that with the spyrite of mēkenes. And yf they perceyve in eny places that y have not attayned the very sence of the tonge/or meanyng of the scripture/or haue not geuen the right englysshe worde/that they put to there hands to amende it/rememrynge that so is there duetie to doo. For we have not receyved the gyfts of god for oureselues only/or forto hyde them: but forto bestowe them vnto the hononringe of god and christ/and edyfyinge of the congregacion/which is the body of christ.

Es were wol recht vnd billich/ das dis buch on alle vorrhede vnnd frembden namen

¶The causes that moved me to translate/y thought better that other shulde ymagin/

auszgieng/vnnd nur seyn selbs
eygen namen vnd rede furete/
Aber die weyl durch manche
wilde deuttung vnd vorrhede/
der Christen synn da hyn ver-
triebē ist/das man schier nit
[/nicht in eds. 2 & 3/] mehr
weys/was Euangeli oder ge-
setz/new oder alt testament/
heysse/fodert die noddurfft
eyn antzeygen vñ vorrhede zu
stellen/da mit der eynfelltige
man/aus seynem allten wahn/
auff die rechte ban gefuret vnd
vntrrichtet werde/ wes er
ynn disem buch, gewarten sol-
le/auff das er nicht gepott
vnnd gesetzte suche/da er Eu-
angeli vnd verheyssung Gottis
suchen sollt.

Darumb ist auff's erste zu
wissen/das abtzu thun ist der
wahn/das vier Euangelia vnd
nur vier Euangelisten sind/ vñ
gantz zuwerwerffen/has etlich
des neuen testaments bucher
teyllen/ynn legales/historiales
/Prophetales/vnnd sapientiales
/vermeynen damit (weysz
nicht wie) das neue/dem alten
testament zuergleychen/ Son-
dern festiglich zu halten/das
gleych wie das allte testament
ist eyn buch/ darynnen Gottis
gesetz vñ gepot/ da neben die
geschichte beyde dere die sel-
ben gehalten vnd nicht gehall-
ten haben/geschriben sind/
Also ist das neue testament/
eyn buch/darynnen das Euan-
gelion vnd Gottis verheyssung

then that y shulde rehearce
them. More over y supposed
yt superfluous/for who ys so
blynde to axe why lyght shulde
be shewed to them that walke
in dercknes/where they cannot
but stomble/and where to
stomble ys the daunger of eter-
nall dammacion/other so de-
spyghtfull that he wolde envye
eny man (y speake nott his
brother) so necessary a thinge
/or so bedlem madde to af-
fyrme that good is the naturall
cause of euell/and dercknes to
procede oute of lyght/and that
lying shulde be grounded in
trough and verytie/and nott
rather clene contrary/ that
lyght destroyeth dercknes/and
veritie reproveth all manner
lyinge.

¶Also hit has pleasyd god to
put in my mynde/and also to
geue me grace to translate this
forereheard newe testament
into oure englysshe tonge/how
esoeuer we haue done it. I
supposed yt very necessary to
put you in remembrance of cer-
tayne poynts/which are: that
ye well vnderstonde what these
words meane. ¶The olde test-
ament. ¶The newe testamēt.
¶the lawe. ¶The gospell. ¶Mo-
ses. ¶Christ. ¶Nature. ¶Grace.
¶Workinge and belevyngē.
¶Dedes and faythe/ Lest we
astrybe/to the one that which
belongeth to the other/and
make of Christ Moses/of the
gospell the Lawe/despise grace
and robbe faythe: and fall frōm

/danebe auch geschichte beyde
/dere die dran glewben vnd nit
glewben/geschrieben sind/Al-
so das man gewissz sey/das
nur eyn Euāgelion sey/gleich
wie nur eyn buch des newen
testaments/vnd nur eyn glawb
/vnd nur eyn Gott/der do ver-
heysset.

Denn Euangelion ist eyn
kriechlich wortt/vñ heyst auff
deutsch/gute botschafft/gute
meher/gutte newzeytung/gutt
geschrey/ dauon man singet/
saget vñ frolich ist/gleich als
do Daudid den grossen Goliath
vberwand/kam eyn gutt ge-
schrey/ vnd trostlich newt-
zeyttung vnter das ludisch
volck/das yhrer grewlicher
feynd erslagen/ vnd sie erlo-
set/ zu freud vnd frid gestellet
weren/dauon sie sunen vñ
sprungen vnnd frohlich waren
/Also ist dis Euangelion Gottis
vnnd new testament/eyn gutte
meher vñ geschrey ynn alle
welt erschollen durch die Apo-
stell/von eynem rechten Daudid
/der mit der sund/tod vnnd
teuffel gestritten/vnd vber-
wunden hab/vnnd damit alle
die szo ynn sunden gefangen
/mit dem todt geplagt wom
teuffel vberweldigt gewesen/
on yhr verdienst erloset/recht-
fertig/lebendig vnd selig ge-
macht hat/ vnd da mit zu frid

meke lernynge into ydle despi-
cious/braulinge and scoldynge
aboute words.

¶The old testamēt is a boke/
where in is wrytten the lawe
and cōmaundmēts of god/and
the dedes of them which fulfill
them/and of them also which
fulfill them nott.

¶The newe testamēt is a boke
where in are cōteyned the
promyses of god/and the dedes
of them which beleue them or
beleue them nott.

Euāgeliō (that we cal the
gospel) is a greke worde/ &
signyfyth good/mery/glad and
ioyfull tydings/ that maketh a
mannes hert glad/ and maketh
hym synge/ daunce and leepe
for ioye. As when Davyd had
kylled Galyath the geant/ cam
glad tydings vnto the iewes/
that their fearfull and cruell
enemy was slayne/and they de-
lyvered oute of all daunger: for
gladnes were of/they songe/
daunsed/and wer ioyfull. In
lyke manner is the euangelion
of god (which we call gospell/
and the newe tostamēt) ioy-
full tydings/and as some saye:
a good hearing publisshed by
the apostles through oute all
the worlde/of Christ the right
Davyd howe that he hathe
fought with synne/with dethe/
and the devill/and over cume
them. Whereby all mē that
were in Bōdage to synne/
wōuded with dethe/ ouercū of
the devill/are with oute there
awne meritts or deservings/

gestellet/vnd Gott wider heym
bracht/dauon sie singen/dan-
cken Gott/loben vnd frolich
sind ewiglich/ szo sie des an-
ders fest glawben/vnd ym
glawben bestendig bleyben.

Solch geschrey vnd trostliche
mehrre odder Euangelisch vnd
Gotlich newzeyttung / heyst
auch eyn new testament/dar-
umb/dz gleych wie eyn testa-
ment ist/wenn eyn sterbender
man seyn gutt bescheydet nach
seynem todt den benandten er-
ben aus zu teylen/Also hatt
auch Christus fur seynem ster-
ben befolhen vnd bescheyden/
solchs Euangelion nach seynem
todt/aus zuruffen ynn alle welt
/vnd damit allen/die do glew-
bē/ zu eygen geben alles seyn
gutt/das ist/seyn leben da mit
er den todt verschlungen/seyn
gerectigkeyt da mit er die sund
vertilget/vnd seyn seligkeyt
damit er die ewige verdammnis
vberwunden hat/Nu kan yhe
der arme mensch/ynn sunden/
todt vñ zur helle verstrickt/
nichts trostlichers horen/denn
solch thewre lieblich botschafft
vō Christo/vñ mus seyn hertz
von grund lachen vnd frolich
druber werden/wo ers glewbt
das war sey.

losed/ iustifyed/ restored to
lyfe/and saved/brought to li-
bertie/and reconciled vnto the
favour of god/and sett at one
with hym agayne: which tyd-
ings as many as beleve/ laude
prayse and thancke god/are
glad/synge and daunce for
ioye.

¶This euangelion or gospell
/that is to say/suche ioyfull
tydings/is called the newe test-
ament. Because that as a man
when he shall dye apoynteth
his goodds to be dealte and
distributed after hys dethe
amonge them which he nam-
eth to be his heyres. Even so
Christ before his dethe com-
maunded and appoynted that
suche euangelion/ gospell/ or
tydyngs shulde be declared
through oute all the worlde/
and there with to geue vnto all
that beleve all his goodds/that
is to saye/his lyfe/where with
he swalowed and deuoured vp
dethe: his rightewesnes/where
with he bānyshed synne: his
salvacion/where with he over-
cam eternall damacion. Nowe
can the wretched man (that is
wrapped in synne/and is in
daunger to dethe and hell)
heare no moare ioyus a thyng
/then suche glad and comfort-
able tydings/of Christ. So
that he cannot but be glad and
laugh from the lowe bottom of
his hert/if he beleve that the
tydyngs are trewe.

Nu hat Gott solchen glawben

¶To strength such feythe

zu stercken/dises seyn Euangelion vnd testament viel felutig ym allten testament durch die propheten ver sprochen [verheyssen, in third edition]/wie Paulus sagt Ro. 1. [i, in third ed.] Ich byn aussgesondert zu predigen das Euangelion Gottis/wilchs er zuuor verheyssen hat durch seyne propheten ynn der heyligen schrift/von seynem son der yhm geporn ist von dem samen etce. Vnnd das wyr der etlich antziehen/hat ers am ersten versprochen [verheyssen, in third edition]/da er sagt zu der schlangen Geñ. 3. [iij, in third ed.] Ich will feyndschaft legē zwischen dyr vñ eynem weyb/zwischen deynem samen vnd yhrem samen /der selb soll dyr deyn hewbt zutretten/vñ du wirst yhm seyn solen zutretten/Christus ist der same dises weybs/der dem teuffel seyn heubt/das ist /sund/tod/helle vñ alle seyne krafft zutretten hatt/Denn on disen Samen kan keyn mensch der sund/dem todt/ der [nach der, in third ed.] hellen entrynne.

Item Geñ. 22. [xxij., in third ed.] versprach [verhies, in third ed.] ers zu Abraham/ynn deynem saman sollen alle geschlecht auff erden gesegnet werden/Christus ist der same Abrahe/spricht Sanct Paulus Gal. 3. [iij., in third ed.] Der hat alle wellt gesegnet/durchs

with all/god promysed this his evāgelion in the olde testament by the phophetts (as paul sayth in the fyrst chapter vnto the romans). Howe that he was chosen oute to preache godds euangelion/which he before had promysed by the prophetts in the holy scriptures that treat of his sonne which was borne of the seed of davyd.. In the thyrd chapter of genesis/god saith to the serpent: y wyll put hatred bitwene the and the woman bitwene thy seede and her seede /that silfe seede shall tread thy heed vnder fote. Christ is this womans seede/he it is that hath troden vnder fote the devylls heed/that is to saye synne/dethe/hell/and all his power. For with oute this seede can no man avoyde synne/dethe/hell and euerlastyngē dānacion.

¶Agayne gen. xxij. god promysed Abraham sayge: in thy seede shall all the generatiōs of the erthe be blessed. Christ is that seede of Abraham sayth faynet Paul in the thyrd to the galathyans He hath blessed all the worlde through the gospel. For where Christ is not/there

Euangelion/Deñ wo Christus nit [nicht, in eds. 2 & 3] ist/da ist noch der fluch/der vber Adam vnd seyne kinder fiel/da er gesundigt hatte/das sie altzumal der sunde/des tods/vnd der hellen schuldig vnn eygen seyn müssen/Widder den fluch/segenet nu das Euangelio alle welt/da mit/das es rufft offentlich/ wer an disen samen Abrahe glewbt/sol gesegnet/das ist/vō sund/tod vnd helle/ los seyn/vnd rechtfertig/lebendig vnd selig bleyben ewiglich/wie Christus selb sagt Iohan. 11. [xi. in ed. 3] Wer an mich glewbt/der wirt nymmer mehr sterben.

remaineth the cursse that fel on adā as soone as he had synned/ So that they are in bondage vnder the domination of synne/dethe/and hell. Agaynste this cursse blesseth now the gospell all the worlde /in asmoche as it cryeth openly/who so ever beleveth on the seede of Abrahā shalbe blessed /that is/he shalbe delyvered frō synne/dethe and hell/and shall hence forth contynue righewes/ lyvinge/ and saved for euer/as Christ hym sylffe saith (in the xi. of Ihon) He that beleveth on me shall never more dye.

We need hardly make any further comment upon these parallel columns of part of this production of these two Reformers. We surely need not point out that the paragraphs of importance in Tyndale's *prologue* are virtually direct translations from Luther. Moreover, even for other parts not so directly appropriated, Tyndale apparently received the suggestion or inspiration from Luther.

We should like to reproduce both introductions completely, and to trace sources of other passages of Tyndale's *prologue*, but space will not permit. And, of course, equally interesting might be a similar examination of other writings of Tyndale, if such came within the scope of our consideration.

But we must here necessarily confine ourselves to a comparison of Tyndale's *Cologne Fragment* with Luther's New Testament up to Matthew 22: 12, with which we shall therefore continue.

In connection with this account and reproduction of the *introductions* to the New Testament, we must consider also the pages of *contents*, as these follow, and may be regarded as parts of, the introductions. These, too, we shall reproduce in parallel columns as they occur in Luther's first edition and Tyndale's Fragment respectively.

LIST OF BOOKS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Luther: September, 1522	Tyndale: Cologne Fragment, 1525
Die Bucher des newen testaments.	The bokes conteyned in the newe Testament.
1 Euangelion Sanct Matthes.	i The gospell of saynct Matthew
2 Euangelion Sanct Marcus.	ij The gospell of S. Marke
3 Euangelion Sanct Lucas.	iiij The gospell of S. Luke
4 Euangelion Sanct Iohannis.	iiij The gospel of S. Ihon
5 Der Apostel geschicht beschrieben von Sanct Lucas	v The actes of the apostles written by S. Luke
6 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Romern.	vi The epistle of S. Paul to the Romans
7 Die erste Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Corinthern	vij The fyrst pistle of S. Paul to the Corrinthians
8 Die ander Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Corinthern.	viiij The second pistle of S. Paul to the Cortinthians
9 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Galatern.	ix The pistle of S. Paul to the Galathians
10 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Ephesern.	x The pistle of S. Paul to the Ephesians
11 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Philippenn.	xi The pistle of S. Paul to the Philippians

12 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Colossern.	xij The pistle of S. Paul to the Collossians
13 Die erste Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Thessalonicern.	xiiij The fyrst pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tesselonians
14 Die ander Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Thessalonicern.	xiiiij The seconde pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tesselonians
15 Die Erst Epistel Sanct Paulus an Timotheon.	xv The fyrst pistle of S. Paul to Timothe
16 Die ander Epistel Sante Paulus an Timotheon.	xvi The seconde pistle of S. Paul to Timothe
17 Epistel Sanct Paulus an Titon.	xvij The pistle of S. Paul to Titus
18 Epistel Sanct Paulus an Philemon.	xviiij Te pistle of S. Paul vnto Philemon
19 Die erst Epistel Sanct Peters.	xix The fyrst pistle of S. Peter
20 Die ander Epistel Sanct Peters.	xx The seconde pistle of S. Peter
21 Die erste Epistel Sanct Iohannis.	xxi The fyrst pistle of S. Ihon
22 Die ander Epistel Sanct Iohannis.	xxij The seconde pistle of S. Ihon
23 Die drit Epistel Sanct Iohannis.	xxiiij The thyrd pistle of S. Ihon
Die Epistle zu den Ebreern.	The pistle vnto the Ebrues
Die Epistel Iacobus.	The pistle of S. Iames
Die Epistel Iudas.	The pistle of Iude
Die offinbarung Iohannis.	The revelacion of Ihon

The above parallel columns tell their own story. From the heading down to the last book mentioned, Tyndale's list of books is apparently practically a literal translation, amounting almost to a transcript, of Luther's list. Note the *heading*, the *order* of the books, and even the very *arrangement* on the page. Note

Tyndale following Luther in such details as in v. of his list, as to the Acts of the Apostles. Likewise, somewhat like a student following a great authority, Tyndale follows Luther in placing *Hebrews* and *James* after the *Third Epistle of John*, instead of placing it after *Philemon*, as he also follows him in numbering the books down to 23, and then leaving the last four books unnumbered and with a little space between them and the books above them. Only in using Roman numerals instead of Arabic numerals does he differ from Luther. In the light of these and many other facts and details, is there any wonder that his contemporaries actually considered Tyndale's New Testament as "Luther's Testament in English"? But we ask the reader kindly to be patient with us and with us to reserve judgment for the present, while we pass on to a consideration of other points.

II

THE NOTES OR GLOSSES



THE exact number of the marginal glosses in Tyndale's Fragment (Matthew 1—22:12) is 92. Of these, we find 57 to be almost wholly (several partly) practically literal translations of Luther's notes; and these are the notes of importance. At least three other notes are *based* upon Luther's notes (Matt. 2:18; 5:8; 15:5). And 32 are apparently not based upon Luther's notes in Matthew (1—22:12); but these are generally short and comparatively unimportant. Therefore, of Tyndale's 92 notes, almost two-thirds, and these the notes of significance, are taken directly from Luther's parallel notes—and, of course, without anything to indicate their real authorship, which was indeed a fortunate circumstance for Tyndale and his work. And, of course, with the source of other notes we have, in this comparison between the two Testaments (Matt. 1—22:12), nothing to do.

It should here be said that one note (1:25) which

has, however, hitherto generally also been ascribed to Tyndale by men who have traced other notes, is indeed not found in Luther's *first* edition; but it is found in his *second* and *third* editions. To this we should add that one note (13: 12), also used by Tyndale, is found in Luther's first edition, but is wanting in his second and third editions. We should also here state that the note at the end of chapter 21 was also manifestly taken from Luther's second or third edition, rather than from his first edition, because in one particular it follows the second and third editions, as we shall indicate in connection with the note. These facts, therefore, already prove that Tyndale used Luther's second or third edition, as well as his first edition, as will more clearly appear later.

This would, however, show only that Tyndale, in addition to Luther's first edition, used also his second *or* his third edition. But it does not prove *which* of these two editions he actually used—or whether he used *both* these editions—in addition to the first edition.

Apart from the fuller proof to be given under *References* and *Text*, we might here also adduce a proof from these notes that Tyndale certainly used Luther's *third* edition. Two of Tyndale's notes are clearly from the third edition. The note on the word *Moorne* (9:15) has these words, *they must faste after Christs deth & suffre payne of godds hand*. Luther's third edition has, *Sie musten aber fasten vñ leyden denn/ do Christus todt ward*, while in the first and second editions the

reading is, *Sie musten aber fasten vñ [vnnd, edition 1] leyden denn/do Christus todtet ward.* So the note on the word *Synges* (16: 3) refers an Old Testament prophecy to *Esaie xvi.*, as Luther's third edition, by reversing the 6 and 1, erroneously does; while Luther's first and second editions correctly refer it to *Isaie. 61.* Tyndale seems to copy or imitate even Luther's spelling of the name *Isaie.* These two notes, therefore, conclusively prove, even apart from the *References* and *Text*, that Tyndale used Luther's *third* edition. Whether he used Luther's second edition also will appear later on.

The extent to which Tyndale appropriated Luther's notes may further be seen from the fact that of Luther's *available* outer marginal notes, as far as Tyndale's *Fragment* goes, he used all but 12; and even three of these form the basis of three of Tyndale's notes, as already seen. It might here be said that Luther's first edition, up to the first part of the twelfth verse of Matthew 22, has 67 outer marginal glosses, and that the second and third editions each have 68. The first edition has a note (13: 12)—which was used by Tyndale—not found in the second and third editions; and the second and third editions have two notes (1: 25; 5: 25)—the first also used by Tyndale—not found in Luther's first edition. The other notes are the same, except as to spelling, etc. Hence, there are 69 different outer marginal notes in the three editions. There is also an inner marginal note (9:23) in all three edi-

tions, apparently placed there because of want of space on the outer margin.

As these marginal glosses are almost inaccessible, and as they constitute a running commentary that is a not unimportant contribution to theological literature, and especially as a reprint here affords an ocular demonstration of our analysis above, we believe that a reproduction of them will be welcomed. We shall, therefore, present them complete as they appear, up to Matthew 22: 12, in a column parallel to Tyndale's notes as found in the Cologne Fragment. We take these notes from Luther's second Wittenberg edition—as between the first and third editions—and indicate variations (except the unimportant differences in spelling) in the other two editions. But the notes are given in the original spelling—even as to typographical errors and punctuation, as they appear in Luther's second edition and Tyndale's Fragment. For the notes which Tyndale directly appropriates, either in whole or in part, we do not repeat in the English column the chapter and verse of the English version now in use.

MARGINAL NOTES

Luther: Second Edition,
December, 1522

Tyndale: Cologne Fragment
1525

Matt. 1:1.—Abraham vnd
Dauid werdē furnemlich antzo-
gen/darumb das den selbē
Christus sonderlich verheyssen
ist.

*Abraham and David are fyrst
rehearsid/because that chirste
was chefly promysed vnto
them.

1 :6.—Sanct Mattheus lesset
ettlich gelid aussen/vnnd furet
Christus geschlecht von Solo-
mon nach dem gesetz/aber
Saut. Lucas furet es nach der
natur von Nathan Solomonis
bruder. Denn das gesetz nen-
net auch die kinder/szo von
brudern aus nachgelassenem
weyb geporn sing. Deuter. 25.

1 :19.—(Rugen etce.)
Das is er wolt sie nicht zu
schanden machen fur den leu-
ten/als er wol macht hatte
nach dem gesetz/vnd rumbt
also sanct. Matth. Iosephs
fromkeyt das er sich auch sey-
nes rechten vmb liebe willen
vertzigen hat.

1 :25.—(Bis)
Soll nicht verstanden werden
das Ioseph Mariam ernach er-
kēnet hab sondern es ist eyn
weys zu reden yn der schrift
/als Gene. 8. der Rab sey nit
wider komē/bis die erde truck-
net/wil die schrift nit/das der

Saynct mathew leveth out cer-
teyne generacions/ & descri-
beth Christes linage from solo-
mō/after the lawe of Moses/
but Lucas describeth it accord-
yng to nature/frō nathan solo-
mōs brother. For the lawe cal-
leth them a mannes childrē
which his broder begatt of his
wyfe lefte behynde hym after
his dethe. deu. xxv. c.

1:16.—*That ys to saye by
the workige & power of the ho-
ly goste.

*Defame
That is he wolde not put her to
opē shame/as he wel might
haue done bi the lawe. Also
mathew reiaysith of the good-
nes of ioseph/which for loves
sake dyd remyt of his ryght.

1:21.—*Iesus.
Iesus is asmoche to saye as a
saver/for he onli saveth all
men from their synnes bi his
meretes with oute there de-
serving

1:23.—Christe bryngeth god.
where Christ is there is god.
and were christ is not there is
noȝ god.

*Till she. ye shall nott sup-
poose that he knew her after-
warde/but hit is the maner of
the scripture so to speake/as
gē. viij. c. the ravin cam not
againē till the water was drōke
vppe and the erth drye/the
scripture meaneth nott/he cam

Rab hernach komen sey/also auch hie volgt nicht/das Ioseph Mariam hernach erkenne hab.

[The above note is not found in the first edition; but it is also in the third edition.]

2:1.—(weysen etce.)
Die S. Math. Magos nennet/vnnd sind magi in etlichen morgenlender Natur kundiger vñ priester gewesen.

2:6.—(Mit nichte)
Bethlehem war kleyn anzusehen/darumb auch Micheas sie kleyn nennet. Aber der Euangelist hat (mit nichte) hyn zu than/darumb/ das sie itzund erholet war/do Christus da geporn ward. Vnd trifft also der Euangelist die figur/denn Bethlehem bedeut/die christenheyt die veracht fur der welt/gros fur Gott ist.

2:18.—(aus mit yhnen)
Diszen spruch hat Sanct Math. sonderlich anzogē/dz er durch yhn anzcyget/wie er sich allzeyt vmb die Christenheyt helt/Denn es lest sich allweg fur der welt ansehen/als sey es aus vmb die Christen/doch werden sie/widder all macht der helle/wunderlich durch Got

agayne after warde: evyn soo here/hit foloweth not that ioseph kewe oure lady after warde.

*wyse men.
Of mathew they ar callid Magi / & in certeyne couñtreis i the est/philosophers conynges in naturall causes & effectes/and also the prestes/were so callyd.

2:5.—*Iury is the londe. Iuda is that trybe or kynred that dwelt there in.

2:18.—*Rachell was buried nor ferre from bethlehem/ad the prophet signifieth that as she mourned her sōne beniamyn/in whoes byrth she dyed /so shuld the mothers of these children mourne. And here maye we se/howe it goeth all waye/with the righte christen men before the world/for the

Euangelion

Kind hat gepom den Elcasar.

Elcasar hat gepom den Nathan.

Nathan hat gepom den Jacob.

Jacob hat gepom den Joseph den man Marie / von welcher ist ges-
pom Ihesus / der da heist Christus.

Alle gelid vñ Abraham bis auff David / sind viertzeß gelid / Vñ
David bis auff die Babilonische gefencknis sind viertzeß gelid /
• Von der Babilonischen gefencknis bis auff Christus sind viertzeß
hen gelid.

Die gepurt Christi war aber also gethan / Als maria seyne muer Lucc. 1.
dem Joseph vertrawet war / che sie nit cynander zuhauseassen / er-
send sichs das sie schwanger war / von dem heyligen geist. Joseph
aber yhr man war frum / vñd wolt sie nicht rugen / gedacht aber sie
heymlich zuerlassen / In dem er aber also gedacht / sihe / da erschynt
yhm eyn Engell d' oberim ym trawm vñ sprach / Joseph du son Da-
uid furcht dich nicht Mariam deyn weyb zu dyr zu nehmen / denn das
ynn yhs gepom ist / das ist vordan heyligen geist / vñd sie wirt ey-
nen son geporen / des namen soltu Ihesus heissen / denn er wirt seyn
volck selig machen von yhren sunden.

Das ist aber alles geschet / auff das erfüllet wurd das der herr
durch den Propheten gesagt hat / der do spricht. Sihe / eyn iunck-
• frau wirt schwanger seyn vñd eynen son geporen / vñd sie werden sey-
nen namen Emanuel heissen / das ist verdolmetschet. Gott mit uns.

Da nu Joseph vom schlaff erwachte / that er wile yhm des hermi-
Engell befolhen hatte / vñd nam seyn weyb zu sich / vñd erkennet sie nit
cht / bis sie yhren ersten son gepar / vñd hies seynen namen Ihesus.

Das ander Capitel.

D Ihesus gepom war in Bethlehem / ym Judischen land /
zur zyt des konigs Herodis / sihe / da kamen die wey-
ßen vom morgenland gen Jerusalem / vñd sprachen. Wo
ist der newgeborne konig der Juden / wyrt habē seynen stern
geschen ym morgen land / vñd sind komen / yhn anzubeten.

Do das der konig Herodes horte / erschriack er vñd mit yhm das
gantz Jerusalem / vñd lies versamen alle hohe Priester vñd schrifft-
gelerten / vñter dem volck / vñ erforschte von yhn / wo Christus solt
gepom werden / vñd sie sagten yhm / zu Bethlehem ym Judischen
land. Denn also ist geschriben durch den Propheten. Du du Bethle-
hem ym Judischen land bist mit nichte die kleynist vñter den fursten
Juda / denn aus dyr soll myr komen / der hertzog der geyb meyn volck
von Israel eyn herr sey.

Da berieff Herodes die weysen heymlich / vñd erlernet mit vleys
von yhnen / wenn der stern erschynt were / vñd wieset sie gen Beth-
lehem / vñd sprach / sihet hyr / vñd forschet vleissig nach dem kind
lin / vñd wenn yhs findet / sagt myr widder / das ich auch come vñd
es anbe.

Als sienn den konig gehort hatten / zogen sie hyr / vñd sihe / der
stern / den sie ym morgen land geschen hatten / gieng fur yhn hyr / bis
core / hin zu ihm / darumb das sie yhm erachtet war / do Christus da ge-
gelte die figur / denn Bethlehem bedeyt / die kleyne hert / die vrsacht fur der welt / gros fur Gott ist.

(Angen etc.)
Das ist er wolke-
niet zu schanden
machen den traun-
en. also er wol mas-
chebarte nach dem
gesetze / vñd iunck
also (siner. Maria).
Josephs frommer
das er sich auch fer-
nes rechten kind
liebe willen verzei-
gen hat.

(Bis)
Soll nicht verstan-
den werden das
Joseph Mariam
ernstlich geliet hab
sondern. ewig ym
weysen zu reben
der schrifft. also
ne. S. der küh sey-
nit widerfome. bis
die ewe trucket /
vñd die schrifft nit
das der küh berna-
ch kinnen sey / also
auch die volgt ni-
che / das Joseph
Mariam hernach
erkennt hab.

(weysen etc.)
Die S. Math. da
gos nennet / vñd
sinn magt in er-
ehen morgenlander
Natur künigey vñ
puester gewesin.

(Mit nichte)
Bethlehem war
kern anzuheben /
darumb auch die-
chess sie hien an-
net. Aber des Eu-
angelist bar (mar-
core) horn zu ihm / dar-
umb das sie yhm
gelte die figur / denn Bethlehem bedeyt / die kleyne hert / die vrsacht fur der welt / gros fur Gott ist.

Matt. 1:15-2:9, Second Edition of Luther's N. T. It contains note to 1:25 (Bis), not found in First Edition. Size of text of original 8½x5 inches. See pages 77 and 78.

erhalten/vnd man sicht hie yñ
disen kinden/wie eyn recht
Christlich wesen/ynn leyden
stehe.

3 :4.—Solche hewschrecken
pfllegt man yn ettlich morgen-
lender zuessen/als Hierony.
schreybt.

3 15.—(alle gerecht)

Alle gerechtickeyt wirt erfül-
let/wenn wyr vns aller vnser
gerechtigkeith vñ eehre vertzey-
hen/das Got alleyn fur den ge-
haltē werd/der gerecht sey/vñ
gerecht mache die glewbigen.
Diss thut Iohannes/so er sich
seyner gerechtickeyt aussert/
vñ wil vō Christo getauft vñ
gerechtfertiget werdē. Diss
thut auch Christus so er sich
seyner gerechtickeyt vñ ehre
nicht annympt/sondern lest
sich teuffen vnd todten/Denn
tauff ist nicht anders denn
todt.

5 :5.—(besitzen) die welt
vermeynt die erden zu besitzen
vñ das yhr zu schutzē weñ sie
gewalt vbet/aber Christus le-
ret/das man die erden alleyn
mit senfftmutigkeyt on gewalt
behalt.

faithes sake/which they have
yn christe/nott withstandinge
they are wonderfully mayn-
tained & defended alwaye of
god/ageynst all power of hell.

*Locustes/are more then oware
greshoppers/& souche men vse
to eate i divers partics of the
este.

4 :9.—Put youre truste i
goddess wordes only/and not i
abraham. Let saynctes be an
ensāple vnto you & not youre
truste & cōfidence For then ye
make Christ of them.

*All Rightwesnes/ys fulfilled
when we forsake all oure awne
rightwesnes/ that god only
maye be counted he which is
rightwes/& maketh righwes/
rightwes/throw feith. This do-
eth Ihon i that he putteth frō
hym hys awne rightwesnes/&
wold be wesshed of Christ ād
made rightwes. This also do-
eth Christe/i that he taketh
nott rightwesnes & honour on
hym: but suffreth hym silfe to
be baptised & killed/for bap-
tim is none other thinge then
deeth.

*Erth.

The worlde thikethe too pos-
sesse the erthe/and to defend
there awne/when they vse vio-
lence & power: but christ
teacheth that the world muste
be possessed with mekenes on-

ly/ and with oute power and violence.

5 :8.— (fridfertigen) Die fridfertigen sind mehr denn fridsamen/ nemlich/die den frid machen furdern vnd erhalten vnter andern/wie Christus vns bey Gott hat frid gemacht.

5 :7-11.—All these dedes here rehearsed as to norisshe peace /to shewe mercy/to suffre psecuciō/and so foth/make not a man happye and blessed/nether deserve the rewarde of heven: but declare and testifie that we are happy and blessed and that we shall have greate pmo-ciō ī heven, and certifyeth vs ī oure hertes that we are goddes sonnes/& that the holy goost is in vs. for all good thynges are geuen to vs frely of god for christes blouddes sake ād his merittes.

5 :13.—(das saltz) wenn die lerer auff horen Gottis wort zu leren/mussen sie von menchen gesetzen vberfallen vnd zu treten werden.


 Salt.

whē the pachers ceasse too preache godds worde/ thē muste they nedes be oppressed & trod vnder fote with mannes tradicions.

5 :18.—*Iott.

Is as moche too saie as the leest letter. for so is the leest lerter that the grekes or the hebrues haue/called.

5 :19.—(auff loset) Also thut der Papisten hauff/sagen dise gepott Christi seyen nicht gepot/sondern redte.

 breakith

This do they which say that these Christs cōmaūdments are not cōmaundmēts/ but consai-les.

5 :19.—(kleynist heyssen) das is/wenig geacht/sondern verworffen werden.

*The leest

That is to saye. shalbe little set by and despised.

5 :19.—(gros heyssen)
das is/gros geacht werden.

5 :20.—(der Phariseer)
Der Phariseer fromkeyt
steht alleyn in euserlichen wer-
cken vñ scheyn Christus aber
foddert des hertzen fromkeyt.


5 :22.—(Racha) Racha ist
das rauch scharren ym hals/
vnd begreyffet alle zornige zey-
chen.

5 :25.—(wilfertig)
Gleych wie der schuldig ist
zu versunen der dem andern
leyde than hat also ist der
schuldig zu vergehen vñnd gut-
willig zu seyn/dem leyd ge-
schehē ist/das keyn zorn bley-
be auff beyden seyten.

[The above note, though
found also in the third edi-
tion, is not found in the first
edition.]

5 :29.—(reys) Geystlich aus
reysson/ist hie geporten/das
ist/wenn der augen lust ge-
todtet wirt ym hertzen vnd ab-
ethan.


5 :34.—(schweren)
Alles schweren vnd eyden ist
hie verspotten/das der mensch
von yhm selber thut/wens aber
die lieb/nodt, nutz des nehisten
/odder Gottis ehre fodert/ist
is wolthun/Gleych wie auch der
zorn verpotten/ ist/ vnd doch

 Greate
That is/shalbe moche sett by
/ & had in reverence.

The goodnes of the phari-
saies/ stōdith in ovtwarde
works & appieraunce: but
Christe requyreth te goodnes
of the herte.

*Racha.
Is the whoarce soude in the
throate/ & betokeneth all
sygnes of wrath.

*Plucke
To plucke oute spiritaly is
here commaunded/that is when
the yes luste is put awaie and
kyllid in the hert.

 Swear.
All swearynge & othes which
a mā of him silffe doith/are
here forbydē/never thelesse
whē love/neade/thy neghburs
proffyte/or godds honoure re-
quyrith hit/then is hit well
done too swear. like as wrath

loblich wenn er aus liebe vnd zu Gottes ehren/erfodert wirt.

5 :39.—(nicht widder streben) das ist/niemand soll sich selb rechen noch rach suchen/ auch fur gericht/auch nicht rach begerē. Aber die vbirkeyt des schwerds/sol solchs thun/ von yhr selbs odder durch den nehisten aus lieb ermanet vnn ersucht.

5 :46.—(zollner) heyssen latinisch Publicani vnd sind gewesen/die der Romer rendte vnd zoll bestanden hatten/vnd waren gemeyniglich Gotlose heyden/da hyn vō den Romein gesetzt.

forbydden is/& yet is lawdable whē hit proceedith of love to honoure god with all.

No * man shuld avenge hym silfe/or seke wreeke/no nott by the lawe: butt the ruler which hath the swearde shuld do such thyngs of hym silfe/ or when the negbures off love warne hym/and requyre hym.

*Publicans gaddred rentes/toll /custume/& tribute for the romans/& were cōmely hethen men ther vnto appoynted of the romans.

6 :6.—*Rewarde.
ye shall not thynke/that oure dedes deserve ani thyng of god as a labourar deserueth hys hyre. For all good thynges come of the bounteousnes/liberalite/ mercy/ promyses/ & trewth of god bi the deseruinge of Christs bloud oly but it ys a maner of spekinge. as we saye (thy labour or going was well rewarded) vnto hi that hath but sett only the promyses of a nodyr man.

6 :22.—*Syngle.
The eye is single when a man i all his dedes loketh butt on the wil of god/ & loketh nott for laude/honour or eni other rewarde in this worlde. nother ascrybeth heven or a hyer

roume i hevē vnto his dedes:
but accepteth/heven as a thīg
purchased bi the bloud of
Christe/ & worketh frely for
loves sake only.

6 :30.—*fornace.

Men heete there furnaces &
ovens with suche thynges in
those cuntreyes.

6 :34.—(seyn eygen vbel)
das ist tegliche arbeyt/vnd will
/es sey genug das wir teglich
arbeyten/sollen nicht weytter
sorgen.

*Trouble/is the dayly labour.
he wil hit be ynough that we
laboure dayly wyth oute for-
ther care.

7 :1.—Richten gehort alleyn
Got/darum wer richtet on got-
tis befelch/der nympt Gott seyn
ehre/vñ dis ist der balck.

Too Iudge or cōdem/belongith
to god only/therefore who som-
euer iudgeth with oute godds
cōmaundment/ takith goddes
honoure frō him/& that is the
beame in the eye.

7 :6.—(heyligthum)

Das heyligthum ist Gottis wort
/da durch all ding geheyliget
werden.

*Holye.

The holye thīges are the
woorde of god/that sanctifieth
all thinges. Doggs/ are the
psecuters of the worde.

7 :6.—(hunden)

Hund sind die das wort ver-
folgen.

7 :6.—(sew)

Sew sind/die ersoffen ynn
fleyschlichem lust/dz wort
nicht achten.

*Swyne/are they which are
drowned in fleshy luste & de-
spise the worde.

7 :24.—(thut)

Hie foddert Christus auch den
glawben/denn wo nicht glaub
ist/thut man die gepot nicht/
Roma. 3. vnd alle gutte werck

*The same.

Here Christe requirith faith/
for wheare faith is not there is
not the cōmaundment fulfilled:
Ro. iij. And all goode workes

nach dem scheyn/on glawbē geschehē sind sund. Da gegē auch /wo glawb ist/mussen recht gutte werck folgen/das heysset Christus (thun) vō reynem hertzen thun. Der glawb aber reyniget das hertz. Act. 15. vnd solche frumkeyt/stehet vest widder alle wind/das ist/alle macht der hellē/Deñ sie ist auff den fels Christū/durch den glawben gebawet. Gute werck on glawbē/sind der to-richten iunckfrawen lampen on ole.

8 :2.—(so du wilt) Der glawb weyss nicht/vertrauet aber auff Gottis gnad.

8 :4.—(vber sie)
Moses nennet das gesetz eyn zeugnis vber das volck/Deut. 31. Denn das gesetz beschuldiget vns/vñ ist ein zeug vber vnser sund/also hie/die priester so sie zeugen/Christus hab disen gereyniget/vñ glewben doch nicht/zeugen sie widder sich selb.

8 :9.—(weñ ich sage)
Das ist/Sind meyne wort so mechtig/wie viel mechtiger sind denn deyne wort?

8 :11.—(vom morgen)
Das ist/die heyden werden angenommen/darumb das sie

after ovtwarde appieraunce with ovtē faith are syn: contrarie wyse where faith is: there must the vearly goode werkes folowe. Christe callith here/doige: too doo with a pure herte. Actu. xv. And souche goodnes stōdith fast agaiste all windes/ that is too saye agaynste al the powre of hel/ for hit is bilt on the rocke Christe/thoorowe faith.

*wilt
*faithe knoweth not & trusteth ī the favour and goodness of god

[This note follows the next one in Tyndale.]

*In witnes. Moses callith the lawe a wytnes vnto the people. deur. xxxi. for the lawe acuth vs/ & is a testimonie agaynst oure syn. lyke wyse here/yf the prestes bare recorde that Christe hadde clensyd this leper/ & yet belevyed not/ thē testified they agaist themselves.

glawben werden/die Iuden vnd
werckheylichen verworffen/Ro.
9.

8:19.—(wo du hyn &c.)
Ettlich wollen Christo nicht
folgen/sie seyen denn gewiss/
wo hyn darumb verwirfft Chri-
stus disen/als der nicht trawen
/sondern zuuor/der sach ge-
wiss seyn wil.

8:21.—(Begrabe etce.)
Ettliche wenden gutte werck
fur/dz sie nicht folgen odder
glewben wollen. Aber die deu-
tet Christus todte vnd verlorne
gutte werck.

9:1.—(Seyne stadt) Caphar-
naum.

9:13.—(nicht am opfer)
Christus spricht er esse mit
sundern das er barmhertzig-
keyt beweysze vnd heyst die
phariseer auch barmhertzig-
keyt beweysen vnd die sunder
nicht verachten/drumb das al-
leyn diss gutte werck sind/die
dem nehissen zu gut komen/
singēs/ fastens/ opfers/ acht
Gott nichts.

9:13.—(nicht den frumen)
Christus verwurft all mensch-
liche frumkeyt/vnd will das
wyr alleyn auf seyn frumkeyt
bawen/darumb er auch hie
spricht/er ruffe alleyn den sun-
dern/vnd i. Timot. i. spricht
Paulus/ Christus sey in die
welt komen/ die sunder selig
zu machen.

8:13.—~~9:13~~ Centurion.
Is a captayne of an C. mē/
whom I cal som tyme a cētū-
rion/but for the moost parte
an vnder captayne


*burie
Some pretend goode werke be-
cause they wolde not folowe
Christe & beleve: but Christe
signifieth/ that such werks are
deed and loost.

This cite was capernaum.

9 :15.—(leyde tragen)
 Es ist zweyerley leyden. Erns
 aus eygner wal angenommen/als
 der monch regulen &c. wie
 Baals priester sich selb stachē.
 3 Reg. 18. Solchs leyden helt
 all welt/vnd hielten die phar-
 seer/auch Iohannis iungere fur
 gros. Aber Gott veracht es.
 Das ander leyden/von Gott on
 vnser wal zu geschickt/als
 schand/tod etc. Diss williglich
 leyden ist eyn recht kreutz vnd
 Gott gefellig. Darumb spricht
 Christus/seyne iungere fasten
 nit/die weyl der breutgam noch
 bey yhn ist/das ist die weyl
 yhnen Gott noch nicht hat ley-
 den zu geschickt/vñ Christus
 noch bey yhn war/vnd sie
 schutzet/ ertichten sie yhnen
 keyn leyden/denn es ist nichts
 fur Gott/Sie musten aber fa-
 sten/vñ leyden denn/do Chri-
 stus todtet ward [do Christus
 todt ward,—in third edition]/
 da mit verwurfft Christus der
 heuchler leyde vnd fasten/aus
 eygner wal angenommen. Item
 wo sich Christus freunt-
 lich erzeygt/als eyn breutgam/
 do mus freud seyn/wo er sich
 aber anders erzeygt/mus traw-
 ren seyn.

9 :15.—(Niemand stickt)
 mit disen Worten weyset er sie
 von sich/als die/so seyne leer/
 von solcher freyheyte seyner
 iunger/ nicht verstunden/ vnnd
 spricht man kunde alte kleyder
 nicht mit neuen lappen flicken
 /denn sie halten doch den stich
 nicht/das ist/man kunde dise

*Moorne That is too suffre
 payne. There is payne ij man-
 ner awayes. oone waye of a
 mannes awne choyse ad electiō
 /as is the mōks rules/and as
 baals prests prickyd thē selves.
 iij regū. xviiij, suche paine doth
 al the worlde/the pharisaies/
 ye & Ihōnes disciples esteme
 greate: but god despiseth hit.
 An other waes is there payne
 / & ordeynyd of god with oute
 oure elecctiō as shame/rebuke
 /wrōge/deeth. such too suffre
 paciently and with goodwill/
 is the ryght crosse and pleas-
 eth god well. So Christs di-
 sciples faste nott/but are mery
 att the mariage/ whyle the
 bryde grme is yett with thē/
 ād defendeth them/ye & god
 had yett ordeyned no trouble
 for them/they fayne them sylfe
 no paine/for itt pleaseth not
 god/ they must faste after
 Christs deth & suffre payne of
 godds hand and ordeynaūce. So
 now wharsoever a man taketh
 on hym by hys awne elececiō/
 that is reprovēd/ye & where
 Christ sheweth hymselfe frend-
 ly as a byrde grome/ there
 muste nedes be amery herte.

 Pecyth. with these words
 Christ dryveth them frō hym
 as them which vnderstoode not
 his lernige/as cōcernige the li-
 bertie of his disciples/ and
 sayth: No man mendith an
 olde garmēt with newe clothe/
 for the olde holdith not the
 stiche/ as who saith suche spi-

newe leer nit mit allten
fleyschlichen hertzen begriffen
/Vnd wo man sie fleyschlichē
leutē predige/werde es nur
erger/wie man itzt sihet/das
/so man geystliche freyheyt le-
ret/ mast sich das fleysch der
freyhet an/zu seynem mutwil-
len.

[We shall here give also the
note on the inner margin of
Luther's first three editions.]

9 23.—(pfeyffer) die man denn
zu der leyche braucht vnd be-
deutten falsche lerer.

10:14.—(schuttelt) also, gar
nichts sollt yhr vō yhn nemen
das yhr auch yhren staub von
schuchen schuttelet/das sie er-
kennen/das yhr nicht ewern
nutz/sondern yhr seligkeyt ge-
sucht habt.

10 :23.—(nicht auszurichten)
als wolt er sprechē/ich weys
wol das sie euch verfolgen wer-
den/denn dis volck wirt das
euangelium verfolgen/ vnd
nicht bekeret werden bis zu
end der welt.

rituall newe learnynge cannot
be cōprehēdyd with olde fleshly
herts. Pache to fleshly people
and they were worse/as we se
when spirituall libertie is pach-
ed/the fleshe drawith hit vnto
carnall luste.

9 37.—*The heruest are the
people redy to receve the evā-
geliō/ād the laborers are the
true preachers.

10 :9.—beyond the see cō-
menly they have as well bra-
sen moneye as of golde & syl-
ver.

*Duste
That is/se that ye take noo
thinge of thē in so moche that
ye shake of the very duste
from youre shues/ that they
maie knowe howe ye soght not
youre awne proffit: but there
helth


*fynsshe.
That ys/ye shall mott haue
cōverted or preached.

10:27.—That ys to sey open-
ly/where every mā maye here.


10:41.—*In the name of a
prophet/a rightwes man/or a
disciple, that ys to sey/in that

he perteyneh to god & to Christ.

10 :42.—*water. Compare dede too dede/ so ys one greater then another: but cōpare them to/god/so are they all lyke/ād one as good as another. even as the spyrite mo- vyth a mā/ & tyme & occasiō gevyth

11 :6.— hurted & offēded thorow oute all the newe test- amēt betokeneth to decaye & faule in the fayth, for māy whē thei sawe that Christ was but a carpentars sōe as thei sup- posed/& he hym selfe also a carpēter/& his moder/& kyñe of so lowe degre. moreover when they sawe him put to so vyle a deeth/fell clene frō the faith/& could not beleve.

11 :11.—(der kleynist)
Christus.

 Lesse.
That is Christe.

11 :12.—(leydet das hymel reych) die gewissen/wenn sie das euangelion vernemen drin- gen sie hyntzu/dz yhn niemant werē kan.


*Violence
When the cōsciēces perceave the gospel they thruste in no- thyng can let them

11 :20.—To vpbrayd is to cast a man in the tethe.

11 :30.—(meyn ioch etce.)
das creutz st gar eyn leychte last denen die das Euangelion schmecken vnd fulen.

*My yoke.
The crosse is an easy thinge too them that perceave the gspell.

12 8.—(vber den sabbath)
so gar stehet der verstandt al-

 Sabborh.
The vnderstandinge of all cōm-

ler gepott ynn der liebe das
auch Gottis gepot nicht bindet
wo es liebe vnd nodt foddert.

aundmēts stōde so greatly i
love/that the very cōmandmēts
of god binde not where love
ād neade requyre.

12 :25.—*Desolate.
That ys wasted/destroyed/&
brought to nought.

12 :31.—(widder den heyli-
gen geyst) Die sund ynn den
heyiligen geyst ist/verachtung
des Euangeli vnnd seyner
werck/die weyll die stehet ist
keyner sund radt/denn sie sicht
widder den glauben/der da ist
der sund vergebung/wo fie aber
wirt abthan/mag der glawbe
eyngehen vnd alle sund abfal-
len.

12 :32.—(noch ihener)
das hie Mattheus spricht (wid-
der yñ diser noch ynn ihener
welt) saget Marcus also: Er
ist schuldig eyner ewigen
schuld.

[The next note is found
in the first edition, but not
in the second and third edi-
tions.]

13 :12.—(wer do hatt)
wo das wort gottis verstanden

 Goost.

Syñe ageynste the holy goost
/ys despisyng of the gospell
and hys workyng. where that
bydeth/is no demedy of syn.
for it fyghteth agenst fayth/
which ys the foryevenes of
syñe. yf that be put awaye/
fayth maye entre yn/and all
syñes departe.

*where Mathew sayeth here
nether in the worlde to come/
Marke sayth: he is in daunger
off eternall dānacion.

12 :34.—*A viper ys after
the māer of an adder. ād ys a
worme most full of poyson.

12 :35.—Here may ye se that
wordes & dedes declare out-
wardly what a mā ys with yn/
ād are witnesses with hym or
ageynst hym/but nether make
him good nor bad/as the frute
declareth what the tree ys/
but makethe yt nether good nor
bad.

He that hath. where the
worde of god is vnderstōde/

wirt/da mehret es sich vnd
bessert den menschē/wo es
aber nicht verstanden wirt/da
nympt es ab vnnnd ergert den
menschen.

there hit multiplieth & makith
the people better. where hit is
not vnderstōde/theare hit de-
creasith & makith the people
woorse.


13 :19.—The seed ys sowen
ī the grounde & the gronnde
ys sowen with the worde of
god.

13 :25.—Tares & cockle are
weddes that growe amonge
corne.

13 :31.—(senff korn) keyn
verachter wortte ist/denn das
Euangelium/vnd doch keyn
krefftigers/denn es macht ge-
recht die so yhm glewbgen/ge-
setz vnd werck thun es nicht.

*Mustarde seed.
There is not so simle a thyng
ī the worlde/or more despised/
then the gospell/& yett yt sa-
veth ād iustifieth thē that be-
leve there on/the lawe & the
workes doeth it not.


13 :33.—(sawerteyg) ist auch
das wortt dz den menschen ver-
newert.

 Leven. betokeneth the
gospell also: for yt chaungeth
a man ynto a newe nature.

13 :44.—(schatz) der verbor-
gen schatz ist dz euangelium
das do vns gnad vnd gerech-
tigkeyt gibt/on vnser ver-
dienst/darumb findt man es/
vnd macht frewd/das ist eyn
gut frohlich gewissen welche
man mit keynen wercken zu
wege bringen mag.

*Treasure hyd ys the gospell/
which geveth vs grace ād
ryghtwesnes with out oure de-
servyng therefore we fynde it
ād make ioye and have a mery
conciencie/a thyng that no
man cā obteyne with workes.

13 46.—Ditz euangeliū ist
auch dis perlen.

 The pearle is also the
evāgelion.

13 :52.—(altes) das gesetz
(newes) das enangelium.

*Olde/the lawe.
Newe/ the gospell/ or evange-
lion.

Euangelion

ster/die erger sind/denn er selbst/vnnd wenn sie byn eyn/kommen wo
nen sie also/vñ das letzt dñs menschen wirt erger/denn das erste.
Also wirt es auch diesem argen geschlechte gehen.

Da er noch also in dem volck redte/sihe/da stunden seyne mütter Ward. 4.
Lucc. 8.
vnnd seyne brüder draussen/die wolten mit yhm reden/da sprach
eyner zu yhm/sihe/deyn mütter vnnd deyne brüder stehen draus
sen/vnnd wollen mit dyr reden. Er antwort aber vnd sprach zu dem
der es yhm ansetzt. Wer ist meyn mütter/vnd wer sind meyne brü
der? vnnd recket die hand aus vber seyne iünger/vnd sprach/sihe da/
das ist meyn mütter/vnd meyne brüder. Denn wer do thut den wilt
ken meynes vaters in hymel/der selbige ist meyn brüder/schwester
vnnd mütter.

Das dreytzechend Capitel.

In dem selbigen tag/gieng Ihesus aus dem hause vnd satz Ward. 4.
Lucc. 8.
sich an das meer/vnd es versamlete sich viel volcks zu yhm/
also/das er ynn das schiff wart vnnd sass/vnd alles volck
stund am efer/vñ er redte zu yhm mancherley durch gleychnis
sen/vnnd sprach/Sihe/Es gieng eyn Seeman aus seynen satten
zu seyn/vnd ynn dem er seet/siel ettelchs an den weg/da kamen die vo
gel/vnd fraßens auff. Ettelchs siel ynn das steynichte/da es nicht
viel erden hatt/vñ gieng bald auff/darumb das es nit tieffe erden
hatte/als aber die sonne auffgieng/verwelcket es/vñ die weyl es nit
wurtzel hatte/ward es durre. Ettelchs siel vnter die dommen/vnd die
dommen wuchsen auff/vnnd erstickens. Ettelchs siel auff eyn gutt
land/vnnd gab frucht/ettelchs hundertfeltig/ettelchs sechzigfel
tig/ettelchs dreyßigfeltig/wer oren hat zu horen/der höre.

Vnnd die iünger traffen zu yhm/vnnd sprachen/warumb redstu
zu yhm durch gleychnisse? Er antwort vnnd sprach/Euch ist geben
das yr dñs geheymnis des hymelreichs veruemet/dissen aber ist es nit
geben. Denn wer do hatt/dem wirt gegeben/das er volle genig ha
be/wer aber nicht hat/vñ dem wirt auch genomen/das er hat. Dar
umb rede ich zu yhm durch gleychnisse/denn mit sehenden außgesehen
sie nicht/vnd mit hörenden oren hören sie nicht/denn sie verstehen es
nicht/vnd vñ yhm wirt erfüllet die weysagung Isaie/die do sagt/
mit dem gehöre werdet yhr hören/vnnd werdet es nicht verstehen/
vnd mit sehenden augen werdet yhr sehen/vnnd werdet es nicht ver
nehmen/denn das hertz dñs volcks ist verstockt/vnnd yhr oren sind
dick worden zu hören/vnnd yhr augen sind yhm schlechtig worden/
auff das sie nicht der mal eyns/mitt den augen sehen/vnnd mit den
oren hören/vnnd mitt dem hertzen verstehen/vnd sich bekehren/das
ich yhnen hulffe.

Aber selig

(wer do hatt)
too das wort got
tis verstanden
wurt. Da mehret
es sich vñ bessert
den mensche/ too
es aber nicht ver
standen wurt/da
nimmt es ab vnnd
ergert den mens
chen.

Matth.
13:16

Matt. 12:45-13:15, First Edition of Luther's N. T. It contains note to 13:12 (wer do hatt), not found in Second and Third Editions. Size of text of original, 8½x5 inches. See pages 89 and 90.

14:1.—(vier furst) Iudea mit yhr zugehor was in vier herschafften teylt/ daher man die hern tetrarchas/ has ist vierfursten nennet.

14 :25.—Die nacht teyltt man vortzeytten in vier wachte/der igliche drey stund hatte.

15 :5.—(Gott geben etce.) odder/Es ist dyr nutzer/wenn ichs zu opffer gebe/ wie die Canones itzt leren vō testamenten vnd stiftungen.

15 :13.—(alle pflantzē) alle werck die Gott nicht wirckt ym menschē/sind sund vnd hie sihet man wie gar nichts der frey will vermag.

16 :3.—(zeychen) die zeychen meynet Christus/seyne wunder thatten/die verkündiget waren/dz sie geschen sollten zu Christus zeytten Isaie. 61. [the first edition also has Isaie. 61., which is correct; the third edition incorrectly has Isaie. 16. Thus Tyndale used the third edition and copied its error here, as he does elsewhere.]

Tetrarcha/ys he that hath rule over the fourth parte of a realme. lury with her pertenaunce was thē devided ito iiij lordshippes.

*wetcche.
The nyght in the olde tyme was devided into iiij quarters/ and too every parte was gevyn iiij houres.


15 :5.—*Proffytt. Marke the levē off the pharises. God wolde that the soñe shuld honoure hys father & mother with hys temporall goods/ād the pharises for there temporall lucre iterpreted yt saying: god is thy father ād mother/ offer to hym/ So were the pharises disshes ful with robbery & extorcion/ & the povre fathers and mothers perisshe for hunger and neade.


15 :13.—Tradicions of men muste fayle att the last: gods word bydeth ever.

'Sygnes.
The signes are christs wōderfull deades and miracles/ which were prophesied of before/ that they shulde be done in Chrustus tyme. Esaie xvi.

16 :18.—(Petrus) Cepha Sy-
 risch/Petrus kriechisch heyst
 auf deutsch eyn fels/vnd alle
 Christen sind Petri vmb der
 bekentnis willen/die hie Petrus
 thut/wilche ist/der fels/dar-
 auff Petrus vnd alle petri baw-
 et sind/Gemeyn ist die be-
 kentnis/also auch der name.

16 :18.—(helleporten)
 Die helle pforten sind aller ge-
 walt widder die Christē/ als/
 sunde/todt/helle/weltlich wey-
 szheytt vnd gewallt etce.

 Peter i the greke/syg-
 nieth a stoonē i ēglysshe. This
 confessiō is the rocke. Nowe
 is simō bariona/or simō ionas
 sōne/ called Peter/ because of
 his cōfessiō. whosoever thē
 this wyse cōfesseth of Christe/
 the same is called Peter. nowe
 is this cōfession cōe too all
 that are true christen. Thē ys
 every christē mā & wom a pe-
 ter. Rede bede/austē & hierō
 / of the maner of lowsinge &
 bynding and note howe hierō
 checketh the presumciō of the
 pharises i his tyme/ which yet
 had nott so mōstrous itera-
 tions as oure new goddes have
 feyned Rede erasmus ānota-
 tions. hyt was noot for nought
 that Christ badd beware of the
 leven of the pharises. noo
 thyng is so swete that they
 make not sowre with there tra-
 diciōs. The evāgelion/ that
 ioyfull tidynges/ys nowe bite-
 rer then the olde lawe/Christes
 burthē is hevier then the yooke
 of moyses/oure cōdiciō ād estate
 ys ten tymes more greivous
 then was ever the iewes The
 pharises have so levēded
 Christes swete breed.

16 :23.— Itt soundeth yn
 greke/away frō me sathan/
 and are the same words which
 Christe spake vnto the devyll
 when he wolde have had hi
 to fall doune & worshippe hym.
 luc. iiij.

16 :27.—*Dedes. For the dedes
 testify what a mā is inwarde/

16:28.—(den tod) das ist/
wer an mich glawbt wirt den
tod nicht sehen Iohan. 8. 11.
12.


17:26.—(frey)
wie woll Christus frey war/
gab er doch den zyns/ seym ne-
histen zu willen/also ist eyne
Christen señyet halben alles
dings frey vnd gibt sich doch
seynem nedistē willich zu
dienst.

19:8.—(hertigkeyt)
Etlich gesetz lerē. Ettliche we-
ren/ihene leren das beste/dise
werden dem bosen das nicht er-
ger werde/drumb lassen sie
viel des besten nach gleych wie
das weltliche schwerd auch
thut.

19:12.—(sich selbs)
dz dritte verschneyten mus
geystlich seyn/nemlich willige
keuscheyt/sonst were es eyner-
ley mit dem andern das leyp-
lich geschicht.

19:17.—(mich gut)
Gleych wie Christus spricht

the tree shalbe preysed acor-
dyng to hys frute.

 Deeth. That ts whoso-
ever beleveth o me shall not se
deeth. Io. xij.


17:20.—Stronge feyth re-
quyeth fervent prayer/ &
prayer requyeth fastyng to
subdue the body that lustes
vnquyet nott a mānes mynde.

*Fre. Though Christ were
fre yet gave he trybute for his
neighburs sake. So ys a christe
mā fre i al thyngs as pteyn-
yng to his awne parte/ yett
payeth he trybute & submit-
teth hym silfe to all me/ for
hys brothers sake/ too serve
his borthor withall

18:18.—Here all bynde and
lowse.

*Hardnes. Lawes pmitt &
suffer many thyngs/to avoyde
a worsse iconvenience which
god will iudge & puñysshe.

*Selves. The thryde chast-
ite muste be gostly vnderstōd
that ys to say voluntari chast-
ite/ or els hyt were all wone
with the seconde/ which is out-
warde i the flesshe.

 Goode. As Christ speak-
eth Io. vij my doctrine/ys nott

Iohan. 7. meyne lere ist nicht meyn/also auch hie. Ich byn nicht gutt/denn er redet von sich selb nach der menscheyt durch wilche er vns ymer zu Gott furet.

19 :21.—(volkomen)
 Volkomenheyt ist eygentlich Gottis gepott halten/darumb ist klar/das diser iungling die gepott ym grund nicht gehalten hat/wie er doch meynet/das zeyget yhm Christus/damit/das er die rechten werck der gepott yhm furhelt/vnd vrteylt/das keyn reycher selig werde/der diser iungeling auch eyner ist/Nu werden yhe die selig die Gottis gepott halten.

my dottrine/even so sayieh he here/ y am not good/ for he speketh of his humanite/where with he ever leedeth vs too god.

*Perfectnes is pperly the keypyng of gods cōmasidmēts therefore hit appiereth evidently/that this man hadde not fulfilled goddes cōmaundemēts groundly/as he yet supposed. & that Chrst declareth when he putteth forthe vnto hym the right worke off the cōmaūdment/ and iudgeth that none of the riche men cā be saved of whose nōbre this yonge mā was / yet shall all they be safe that kepe gods cōmaundments.

20 :3.—Sevē a clocke with vs ys one with the iewes/ & ix. is iij. xij. is vi/iij. att after none is ix/ & v. is xi. with them/ ād vi. is eventyde.

20 :13.—By this similitude maye ye pceave that no similitude serveth throwgh out/but sū one thyng cōteyned ī the similitude. As this lōge parable pteyneth butt herevnto/ that werke holy shall despise weeke synners/ which same werke holy shall not there have ther rewards as these which come fyrste have here butt shalbe reiecte & put away/ because they chalenge hit of meritts & nott of mercy & grace.

20 :22.—(der kilch) das ist /leyden. Das fleysch aber wil ymer ehe herlich werden denn es gekreutzigt wirt/ehe erhohet denn ernyderigt werden.


*The cuppe signifieth the crosse/ & sufferyng: but the flesshe wolde be glorified yer then crucified/wolde be exalted & lifte vp an hye yer the cast doune.

20 :28.—Redeme/ is to deliver out off bondage

20 :30.—*Soñe of david.

As many as called hym sōne of david/beleved that he was very messias that grete pphete promysed off god/which shulde come and redeme israhell/for it was pmised that messias shuld be dauids soñe.

21 :9.—(Hosianna)
Hosianna heyst auf deutsch. Ach hilff odder ach gib gluck vnd heyl.

 / Hosiāna/ is asmoeh to sey as och helpe/or och geve good lucke & health.

21 :31.—*Ihon taught the verry waye vnto rightewesnes: for he iterpreted the lawe right/ and dampned man & all his deds & rightewesnes/and drave mē vnto Christ/to seke true rightewesnes/thorow mercy obteyned in hys bloude.

21 :44.—(felte) Es mus sich alles an Christo stossen/ettlich zur besserūg ettlich zur ergerung. [The first edition begins this note, (felte Es mus)—another indication that Tyndale used the second or third edition, rather than the first, here.]

*Fall. All must fall or stōble at Christ/some to there salvation/some to there damnacion.

22: near end of verse 12.—(Hochtzeyt kleyt) ist der glaw-

[At this point Tyndale's fragment stops,—Matt. 22:

bē/deñ dis Euangeliō verwirfft
die werck heyligē/vñ nympt an
die glewbigen.

middle of verse 12. Hence the note, on the wedding garment, a few words later, found in Luther,—does not appear in Tyndale's Fragment, but was probably used, as it is very suggestive.]

We have given the analysis of the marginal notes in Tyndale's Cologne Fragment, to which we have added as ocular evidence a reproduction of these notes in a column parallel to a reproduction of Luther's notes. Further explanation is not required to show the extent of Tyndale's dependence in these notes upon Luther's New Testament. In the light of these facts, this work of Tyndale seems somewhat analogous to that of a disciple appropriating the thoughts and imitating the methods of a great master. At any rate, these notes of the Cologne Fragment, like some other things to which we are calling attention, do not indicate the striking originality of a very independent scholar or of a truly resourceful master—such as Tyndale is sometimes represented to have been. And, in the light of these facts, the assertions of George Joye as to these particulars of Tyndale's work—though no doubt somewhat exaggerated, and though rather unfortunate in their vehemence and perhaps in their motive—are seen after all not to be very far from the truth, and hence must have had some foundation in fact. But, as more evidence on this subject is to be presented, we shall withhold further comment at this time.

III

THE PARALLEL REFERENCES



THE references, along the inner margin of the text, are also full of interest for our investigation. Several investigators who have compared Tyndale's Fragment with a copy of an early edition of Luther's New Testament, have come to the conclusion that many, and probably most, of Tyndale's marginal references were taken from Luther. But it was apparently Luther's first edition, or perhaps a later reprint, that was probably used in making these comparisons. The second and third Wittenberg editions are indeed almost inaccessible, especially the latter, of which only a few complete copies are known to be extant. And yet it was the third Wittenberg edition that Tyndale chiefly used, as already indicated, and as will still further presently appear. We shall now proceed to show that *every one* of Tyndale's marginal references in the Cologne Fragment was borrowed from Luther.

Counting double references, such as *Exod 20. et 21.*

(first edition, near middle of chapter 5) as two, Luther's first edition has 191 of these parallel references; the second edition has 210, two of them being repeated (*Luce. 4.* and *Iohan. 2.*, middle of chapter 4); and the third edition has 208. Apart from the two references repeated in the second edition, the references in the second and third editions are the same, except as to a few differences in the abbreviations and as to printer's errors. Of the references in the first edition, 2 are not found in the second and third editions (last reference of chapter 5: *Luce. 6.*, and second last reference of chapter 11: *Ioh. 17*). There are, therefore, 21 references in the second edition, and 19 in the third edition, which are not found in the first edition. Of the 191 references found in Luther's first edition, Tyndale used 167—or all but 24—and repeated 2, thus making 169. Of the 21 additional references in Luther's second edition (or of the 19 in the third edition), Tyndale used 16. Tyndale, therefore, used 167 plus 16, or 183 of Luther's references, and repeated 2, making 185 in all. And this is all the references that Tyndale's Fragment has. Thus, *every one* of Tyndale's references was taken from Luther's Testament. It should also be said that of these 185 references (or 183, if the repeated references are not counted), 3—also following Luther in this—help to make up double references (such as *Le. xix. & xxvi.*, near end of chapter 5). And, of Luther's total of 210 references in the three editions, counting the 2 references not found in the second and third editions, noted above, but not counting the 2 re-

ferences *repeated* in the second edition, Tyndale, therefore, borrowed all but 27. From the above it is, therefore, also certain that Tyndale used Luther's second or third edition.

The question now naturally arises as to Tyndale's originality in appropriating these references. In the first place, let us remark that these references are more correct in Luther's first edition than in his second and third editions, although one might rather expect the contrary. This, however, is apparently due to mere printers' errors. And, strange to say, whenever a reference in Luther's third (or second) edition is incorrect, Tyndale copies the error in his Fragment. Thus, one of the references, though correct in Luther's first edition, is incorrect in his second and third editions: and Tyndale unwittingly copies the error (third reference of chapter 5: *Exo* . . . *xij*, instead of *xxi*). Another reference, though correct in the first and second editions, is incorrect in the third edition: and this error also Tyndale copies (second reference, chapter 15: *Levi. xxix*, instead of *xx*). This reference, by a mere printer's error in setting the Arabic numeral, is *Leviti. 29.* in the third edition, instead of *Leviti. 20* in the second edition (*Levit. 20.* in the first edition). And, although Leviticus has only 27 chapters, strangely enough even this error Tyndale copies. So one reference, not found in the first edition, that is correct in the second edition, is also incorrect in the third edition (near beginning of chapter 14: *Luce. 18.*): and this error also is copied by Tyndale (*Lu. xviiij.*, instead

of Leviticus 18—*Leui.* 18., as Luther's second edition correctly has it).

In addition to the very conspicuous errors noted above, in which Tyndale apparently blindly followed Luther's third edition (or perhaps in some cases the second edition), there are errors in *placing* references, etc., in which also he followed Luther's third (or second) edition. Thus, the last group of references, consisting of 5, near the end of chapter 5, Tyndale also unmistakably takes from Luther's third (or second) edition; and in so doing he follows a printer's error in misplacing the last 2 references (double: *Le. xix. & xxvi.*)—which are correctly placed with the *following* paragraph in Luther's first edition. In like manner, Tyndale takes the 2 references (*Mar xij. and Luc. xx.*) of the second paragraph of chapter 22 from Luther's third (or second) edition; and in so doing he follows another printer's error in misplacing them, as they are correctly placed with the third paragraph in the first edition. So also Tyndale follows Luther's third (or second) edition in omitting *Luce. 6.*, the last reference of chapter 5, and in omitting the important reference of *Ioh. 17.* at the close of chapter 11—both of which are found in Luther's first edition.

There would, of course, seem to have been no possible excuse on the part of Tyndale for copying these errors of Luther's third (or even second) edition, especially those of the kind first pointed out. He also had Luther's first and more correct edition before him, as

is evident from the fact that he used a note (Matt. 13: 12) which is found in the first edition but is not found in the second and third editions. So, indeed, was there no excuse for him to appropriate any such references at all without at least first verifying them.

Besides these errors, in which he follows Luther's print, there are 14 other errors in these references, which are correct in Luther's *three* editions. Most of these are, however, likely only printers' errors; but several of them (more correctly, 5 of them) appear more like errors in *copying*, either directly from the page or indirectly from dictation by some one else from the page.

It should also be said that 2 references which are incorrect in Luther's first edition, are corrected in the second and third editions. These, therefore, are correct in Tyndale's Fragment (chapter 12, first reference: *i. Regū. xxi.*, Luther's first edition not having the *i* before *Reg. 21.*, the same being correctly inserted in the second and third editions; and chapter 13, near end: *Mar. vi.*, as in Luther's second and third editions, the first edition having *Matth. 6.*)

The above analysis, especially as to the *copied errors*, etc., conclusively proves that Tyndale certainly used Luther's *third edition*, and that for the marginal references he probably used that edition principally, or even alone. That he might have used that edition *alone* for these references, seems all the more plausible from

the fact also that all the references he used are found in that edition. And yet, as already noted, he certainly also had the first edition—as no doubt he also had the second edition—before him in his work in general. More evidence along this line will, however, appear in our examination of the *texts*.

In the light of the above almost startling facts as to Tyndale's appropriation of these references, further comment is unnecessary. To attempt to excuse Tyndale on the ground that, in order not unnecessarily to delay the publication of his New Testament, he had necessarily to avail himself of all materials at hand, and that therefore time would not permit him to verify every reference, etc., will not do. According to his biographers and many writers on the history of the English Bible, he was supposedly engaged in his translation for a long period of time. Then, in the light of this fact and the additional facts that this was apparently his one, and almost his only, great work during that time, and that in its performance, as is well known, he had the help of other English scholars, such an attempted excuse would hardly be satisfactory. The fact might be urged that he had such unbounded confidence in the correctness of Luther's New Testament that he considered it not necessary to verify references, etc. But even this could not account for some very open printers' errors, which he followed.

Moreover, though this work was pioneer work on the part of Tyndale, it was not so in exactly the same

fuller sense as was that of Luther. He had the greater work of Luther, Erasmus, *et al.*, at his disposal to use and follow; and his too free use of at least Luther's work unfortunately apparently tended even to stifle his own originality. Then, too, it must be remembered that Luther finished the first draft of his more original translation of the New Testament practically in three months, by the side of which this work of Tyndale might be considered as comparatively slow. At any rate, it would seem that no attempt to excuse Tyndale in thus almost servilely following Luther in many points, can fully vindicate him, or somehow justify the placing of him in the same exalted historic position as that of his incomparably greater master. Nor must this be regarded as in the least detracting from his true and proper, and indeed truly important, place in the history of the English Reformation and that of the English Bible.

IV

THE TEXT AND ITS ARRANGEMENT



FROM the foregoing comparison of Tyndale's *notes* and *marginal references* with those of Luther, it is very evident that of Luther's Testament it was the *third Wittenberg edition* that Tyndale chiefly used. It is, therefore, with this edition especially that Tyndale's Fragment should naturally be compared to determine to what extent he followed Luther also in his *translation*, although the essential differences in text between the three editions, as we find by a careful comparison, are not very numerous.

As a demonstration of the marked dependence of Tyndale upon Luther also as a *translator*, we shall therefore give a parallel collation of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment and Luther's third Wittenberg edition (1524) with the Greek text of Erasmus (corrected text of 1519 and 1522), to which, as a matter of additional interest and light on this subject, we shall add Erasmus's Latin translation (printed parallel to the Greek text), the Latin Vulgate and Wycliffe's English version.

Moreover, where there are variations in the texts of the first and second Wittenberg editions of Luther's Testament, they will also be indicated in our collation. Mere differences of spelling and punctuation will, however, not be given. But the spelling of the third edition will accurately be reproduced. So also will be that of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment, as well as that of Erasmus's Greek text and Latin translation and that of what is probably one of the best texts (Baxter's) of Wycliffe's version. And, as the text of the Latin Vulgate then was the unrevised text current in the many noted early printed editions of the Bible and was, with the exception of peculiarities in contractions, etc., essentially the same in all of them, we shall use in our collation a copy of one (1478) of Anthony Coburger's magnificent editions, printed at Nuremberg. To be consistent, we are also reproducing the spelling of this edition. But, as several of its marks of contraction are somewhat difficult of reproduction, we shall give only such contractions as can conveniently be reproduced. Further explanation of these should not here be necessary. It might here also be said that several difficult contractions in parts that have already passed through the press are found not be indicated (such as the stroke below or above the p, etc); but the reader can generally readily determine them. Our aim is to be accurate here, as elsewhere, although errors may have crept in.

The Greek text is reproduced in Roman letters. The *eta* is given as *ē*, the *omega* as *ō*, the *theta* as *th*,

the *chi* as *ch*, the *phi* as *ph*, the *psi* as *ps*, the *iota subscript* as an added *i*, and the *rough breathing* (') as an initial *h*, the initial *rho* being represented by *rh*. The *upsilon* is in all cases represented by *u*. No attempt is made to reproduce the accents.

The apparent sources of the passages of Tyndale's text here collated are given in *full-faced* type. That does not mean that these were necessarily the only sources, but that they undoubtedly determined Tyndale's phraseology. Of course, a complete or full collation is, for want of space, not here given; but enough is given to illustrate Tyndale's actual use of Luther's version. Indeed, a complete list of passages in Tyndale's text into which Luther's version entered as an influence, would be difficult to give. For that matter, not only for the more evident passages, a number of which are here given, but probably for the whole translation, Tyndale had before him and to some extent used a copy of Luther's New Testament.

The collation in a shortened form, giving a number of illustrative examples, follows:

COLLATION OF MATTHEW I: 1--XXII: 12

	LATIN VULGATE	LATIN ERASMUS	GREEK ERASMUS	GERMAN LUTHER (1524)	ENGLISH TYNDALE (1526)	ENGLISH WYCLIFFE (1380)
I. 1.	Liber	Liber	Biblos	Dis ist das buch	Thys ys the boke	the book
11-12.	in transmigrationē babilonis, etc.	in exilio Babylonico, etc.	epi tās metoikēsas Babulonōs, etc.	vmb die zeyt der Bablonischen ge- fennknis, etc.	about the tyme of the captivite of babilon, etc.	in to the transygra- cloun of babuloyne, etc.
18.	Xpi at generatō sic erat	Christi uero [Iesu uero Christi, in ed. 3] natiuitas sic habet	Tou de Iēsou Christou hē gen- nēsis houtōs ēn	Die gepurt Christi war aber also gethan/	The byrthe of Christ was on this wyse/	but the generacioun of crist was thus
25.	p'mogenitū	primogenitum	prōtotokon	ersten son	fyrst sonne	first bigetun sone
II. 18.	Vox in rama audita ē	Vox in Rhama audita est	phōnē en rhamai ēkousthē	Auff dem gepirge hat man eyn geschrey gehoret/	on the hilles was a voice herde/	a voyce was herd an hiz
III. 12.	igni inextinguibili	igni inextinguibili	puri asbestōi	ewigem fewr	everlastinge fyre	fier that mai not be quenchild
IV. 25.	Decapoli	Decapoli	dekapolēōs	den zehen stedten/	the ten cetes /	decapoli
V. 13.	Ad nūhilum valet vlt ultra	Ad nihīl ualet ultra	eis ouden ischuei eti	Es ist zu nicht hynfurt nutz/	it is thence forthe good for nothyng	to no thing it is worthe ouere
18.	iota vnū	iota unū	iōta hen	der kleyrnist buchstab /	One lott/ [marg. note: Is as moche to saie as the leest letter, etc]	o lettir
24.	& vade pri' recōcil- iari fri tuo	& abi, prius recōcil- ieris fratri tuo	kai hupage prōton, diallagēthi tōi adēlphōi sou	vnd gehe zuuer hyn/ vnd versuene dich mit deynem bruder/	and go thy waye fyrst and reconcyle thy silff to thy brother/	& go first to be reconcelled to thi brother

	LATIN VULGATE	LATIN ERASMUS	GREEK ERASMUS	GERMAN LUTHER (1524)	ENGLISH TYNDALE (1526)	ENGLISH WYCLIFFE (1380)
VI. 4. 6 & 18.	[omitted]	in propatulo	en tōi phanerōi	ofentlich	openly	[omitted]
	nolite multū loqui	ne sitis multiloqui	mē battologēsēte	solt yhr nicht viel plappern/	babble not moche/	nyle ye speke moche
	& dico huic	& dico huic	kai legō toutōi	Ich sage zu eynem/	y saye to one/	I saie to this
VIII. 9.				zu der selbigen stund	that same houre [similarly: ix: 22; xv: 28; xvii: 18]	
	ex illa hora	in hora illa	en tēi horai ekeinēi	Ach Ihesu du son Gottis/was habon wyr mit dyr zu thun	O iesu the sonne of god what have we to do with the	fro that our what to us & to thee thou Ihesus the sone of god
IX. 13.	Quid nob' & tibi Ih'u fili dei	Quid rei nobis tecum est Iesu fili dei?	tī hēmin kai soi Iesou huie tou theou;	Ich hab eyn wolge- fallen an [an der, ed. I.] barmherz- zigkeit/vnd nicht an offer	I haue pleasure in mercy/ and nott in offerynge	I wole merci & not sacrifice
	māc'diam volo: & nō sacrificiū	misericordiā uolo, & non sacrificiū	eleon theiō kai ou thusian	Niemant sliect eyn alt kleyd mit ey- nem lappen von neuem tuch	No man peeyth an olde garment with a pece of newe cloth	and no man puttith a cloute of bolitous cloodh in to an cold clothing
16.	Nemo aut fmitit commisurā pāni rudis i vestimētum vet'	Nullus imittit assumentum panni rudis in ueste uerteri	oudais de epiballei epiblēma rhakous agnaphou ephima- tiōi palaioi	Ach du son David/	O thou sonne of david/	thou sone of dauith
	fili d'd	fili David	huie dabit	grusset das selbige	grete the same	grete ye it
X. 12.	salutate eā	salutate illā	aspasasthe autēn	die blinden sehen/ die lamen gehen/ etc.	The blynd se/ the halt goo/ etc.	blinde men seen, cro- kid men gon, etc.
	Ceci vident. claudi ambulāt. etc.	Caeci uisum recipiunt, & claudi ambulāt, etc.	tuphloi anablepousin, kai choloī peripa- tousin, etc.			
XI. 5.						

	LATIN VULGATE	LATIN ERASMUS	GREEK ERASMUS	GERMAN LUTHER (1524)	ENGLISH TYNDALE (1526)	ENGLISH WYCLIFFE (1380)
7-9.	Arundinē, etc.	Num arundinem, etc.	kalamon, etc.	woltet yhr eyn rhor sehen etc.	wet ye out to se a rede, etc.	a reed, etc.
12.	et violētī rapiūt illud	& uiolenti rapiunt illud	kai biastai harpa- zousin autēn	vnd die [die do in ed. 1] gewalt thun die reysen, es zu sich	and they that make violence pulleth it to them	& violent men rany- schen it
18.	domeniū hz [abet]	Daemoniū habet	hoti daimonion echei	er hat den teuffel	he hath the devyll	he hath a deucl
XII. 24.	Hic non eijcit demonēs: nisi	Hic non eijcit dæ- monia, nisi	houtos ouk ekballai ta daimonia, ei mē	Es treybt die tewfel nicht anders aus/ denn	he dryveth the devyl no nother wise oute/ but	he this castith not out fendis: but
39.	Ione pph'e	Ionae prophetae	iōna tou prophētou	des Propheten Ionas	the prophet Ionas	Ionas the profete
XIII. 35.	a constitutiōne mūdi	a constitutione mundi	apo katabolēs kosmou	von anfang der welt	from the begynnyng off the worlde	fro the makinge of the world
54.	Unde huic sapiētia hec & v'tutes?	Vnde huic sapiētia haec & uirtutes?	pothen toutōi hē sophia hautē kai hai dunameis;	wo her kompt disem solche weyazheyt vnd macht?	whence cā all thys wysdō and power vnto him?	Fro whennes this wisdom & vertues comen to this?
58.	ppter incredulitatem illor'	propter increduli- tatem illorum	dia tēn apiastian autōn	vmb yhraes vnglaw bens willen	for there vnbeleifes sake	for the vnbeleue of hem
XIV. 2.	& ideo virtutes op'ant in eo	& ideo uirtutes agunt in illo	dia touto hai duna- meis energousin en autōi.	darumb ist seyn thun so gewaltig	and there fore hys power ys so great	and therefor vertues worthyn in hym
3.	ppt Herodiadem uxorē fris sui	propter Herodiadem uxorem Philippi fratris sui	dia herōdiada tēn gunaika philippou tou adelphou hautou	von wegen der Herodias seynes bruders Philippus weyb	for herodias sake/ hys brother Phil- lipps wyffe	for erodias the wiif of his brother

	LATIN VULGATE	LATIN ERASMUS	GREEK ERASMUS	GERMAN LUTHER (1524)	ENGLISH TYNDALE (1525)	ENGLISH WYCLIFFE (1380)
XV. 9.	doctrinas & mādāta hoīm	doctrinas, praecepta hominum	didaskalias, ental- mata anthrōpōn	lere die nichts denn menschen gepot sind	doctryne/ which is nothyng but mens preceptes	doctrynes and man- dementis of men
33.	Vnde nobis in defereto panes tanti	Vnde nobis in soli- tudine panes tam multi	pothen hēmin en erēmiai artoi tosoutoi	woher mogen wyr so viel brodts nemen ynn der mausten	whēce shuld we get so moche breed in the wyldernes	wher of thanne so many loouys among vs in desert
XVI. 5 & 7.	obliti sūt panes accipere, etc.	oblitiōnē nō sup- serāt panes, etc.	epilathonto artous labein, etc.	hatten sie vergessen brod mit sich zu nemen, etc.	they had forgotten to take breed with them, etc.	thei forgaten to take loues, etc.
21.	Exinde	Ex eo tēpore	apo tote	Von der zeyt an/	From that tyme forth	from that tyme
XVII. 4.	Dne, bonū ē nos hic esse	Domine bonum est nos his esse	Kurie kalon estin hēmas hōde [ōde, in ed. 3 einai]	Herre/ hie ist gutt seyn	master here is good beinge for vs	lord it is goode; vo to be here
XVIII. 22.	sed vsque septua- gesies septies	sed usque septuagies septies	all' hōcs hebdomē- kontakis hepta.	sondern/ siebenzig- mal sieben mal	but sevynty tymes sevyn tymes	but til seventi sithis seuene sithis
XIX. 10.	non expedit	non expedit	ou sumpheiei	so ists nicht gut	then ys it not good	it spedith not
XX. 32.	Et stetit Ih's	Et stetit Iesus	kai stas ho Iēsous	Ihesus stund still/	Thē Iesus stode styll/	and ihesus stood
XXI. 9.	Osanna,osāna	Hos anna. hos anna	hōs anna. hōs anna	Hosiāna.Hosiāna	hosiāna.hosiāna	osanna.osanna
XXII. 1.	[Beginning of XXII.]	[Ending of XXI.]	[Ending of XXI.]	[Beginning of XXII.]	[Ending of XXI, following iErasmus]	[Beginning of XXII.]

The above collation throws a flood of light upon the long-debated question as to the extent (if any) of Tyndale's dependence upon Luther as a *translator*. That he used Luther's *text* with almost the same freedom with which he used his *introduction* and *marginal notes*—though he used it with greater independence—no one who really examines this collation can deny.

Moreover, from a much more complete collation, of which the above collated passages are only a small part as illustrative *examples* from the different chapters, it is very manifest that Tyndale used also Erasmus's Latin translation and Wycliffe's version, as also that he to some extent used the Latin Vulgate. Indeed, we find a number of passages whose source is found in several of these texts. There are also cases (whether they be regarded as errors or as having been derived from some other source), in which Tyndale differs from all these texts. As an example we might cite 1: 18 (not given in above collation), where Tyndale has incorrectly *was married* (mnēsteuthēsēs, R. V., *had been betrothed*), where Luther has correctly *vertrawet war*. So in 11: 1, he omits *twelve* (disciples), which is manifestly only an oversight.

It should also be noted that Tyndale follows the Vulgate and Wycliffe in omitting the doxology to the Lord's Prayer. It may, however, be contended that he might have followed some manuscript in this, although such a possibility is too remote to deserve much consideration. In not translating the Greek eikēi (La-

tin, *temere*, in Erasmus), *without cause*, verse 22 of chapter 5, he follows Luther, Wycliffe and the Vulgate. Another interesting point is the translation of *egennēse* (1:2, sqq.). Here Luther has *gepar* Isaac, etc., (*hat geporn* den Isaac, etc., in eds. 1 and 2), undoubtedly in the causative sense of *begat*, which (*begatt*) is also the translation of Tyndale. Here Tyndale apparently follows also Wycliffe, who has *bigat*; and if he be regarded as equally following Luther, which is likely the case, it would evidently be the text of his third, rather than that of his first or second, edition. In passing, it will be interesting also to note the Vulgate's addition to the text (end of 7:29), of the words *eorum et pharisei*, an error naturally followed, in his direct translation from it, by Wycliffe (who has *of hem and the farisies*), but correctly avoided by Erasmus, Luther and Tyndale.

In a former connection, in giving a probable explanation of Tyndale's statement in his "To the Reder" at the end of his "Worms" New Testament, that he "had no man to counterfet/nether was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same," we said that Wycliffe's English was not that of Tyndale's time and that probably Tyndale did not use Wycliffe's version very much. This statement is true only as it bears upon the distinctive *differences* between the English of the two versions. But there are elements *common* to the language of the times and of the two versions that in our vindication of Tyndale's defense we ignored for the time being. As we did not point out this *common element* of the two versions, we should

in this connection say that our conviction is that Wycliffe's version influenced the *English* of Tyndale far more than writers on this subject have generally recognized or acknowledged. Thus we find many of Wycliffe's forms and combinations of words, to which is due much of the rhythmic beauty of Tyndale's version, retained or tastefully reproduced. And yet, it is true that in the actual translation itself he was not likely greatly influenced by Wycliffe's version, as we have said, as that version was clearly only a translation from the Latin Vulgate.

However, it was in connection with, and as invaluable aids in, his translation from the *original* that Tyndale used all these versions. And his use of them was with considerable discrimination. Thus his translation is to some extent an eclectic composite product, in which the relative order of sources is probably as follows: Erasmus's Greek text, Luther's German, Wycliffe's English, Erasmus's Latin and the Latin Vulgate. The statement of Westcott (*History*, etc., p. 179) that the Latin version of Erasmus influenced Tyndale's translation more than the German of Luther is very far from correct, at least as far as the Cologne Fragment is concerned. Of all the *versions* accessible to Tyndale he followed Luther's version far more than any other, and, indeed, than all others combined. It was apparently largely used as a close second to the Greek text itself. This fact, apart from the fact itself, is interesting also as indicating his high estimate of Luther's version. Although his version was a trans-

lation from the Greek text of Erasmus, which he used as a patient though advanced student of the language, Luther's version was undoubtedly the model in form and substance followed by him. And thus, largely as an interpretation also of the true meaning of the original text, Luther's version was Tyndale's guide. To say, however, as has been said by several able writers, who should have known better, that Tyndale's translation was *only* a translation from Luther is surely incorrect and manifestly unjust. Much more so is it incorrect and unjust to say that it was a translation from the Latin Vulgate. Therefore, also George Joye's charges against Tyndale as to this particular point seem rather exaggerated.

It is not for us further to rate Tyndale's Greek scholarship. But, that he was familiar with the grammatical forms of the language is evident from very many literal renderings. Indeed, his translation is often strikingly remarkable in its many literal renderings of the Greek into chaste and exquisite English. And, for that matter, Luther's version is altogether striking in its many exquisite *free* renderings. It often approaches the beautifully and tersely interpretative. This very freedom of many of Luther's renderings is a true evidence of his thorough understanding of the Greek language and of the mind of the Spirit in those inspired utterances. It is not likely, however, that Tyndale was as familiar with Greek *idioms* as he was with the grammatical forms. It is rather in the translation of these that we find him more generally follow-

ing Luther's renderings. In his repeated ignoring of Greek particles he apparently also follows Luther. Hence, his version often appears also quite free in its renderings. And, of course, in some of his expressions he unmistakably follows Luther's *German*, rather than the normal English, *order of words*. But this point must be made in the light of all the facts, as the order of words of some of his expressions, which might appear as though it was determined by Luther's phraseology, was current also in the English of his day.

Then, too, in his *arraignment of matter upon the page*, Tyndale also follows Luther very closely, not only in the *list of the books* of the New Testament and in the *marginal notes* and *parallel references*, already noted, but also in the *paragraphs* with the *spacing* between them, as well as sometimes very strikingly in the *text* itself. Thus, in the first chapter the arrangement of the genealogy upon the page is throughout a minute reproduction, sentence for sentence, of that of Luther's New Testament, one line being given to each separate statement, however short or long. At a distance the two, with notes, etc., or photographs of them, look almost as if they were really identical except for the size of the pages.

In his *headings* Tyndale also undoubtedly follows Luther's New Testament. Thus, at the top of the first page of Matthew the heading of Luther's Testament is:

Euangelion Sanct Matthes.

Das erste Capitel.

Tyndale's Fragment has:

The gospell of S. Mathew.
The fyrst Chapter.

Then, on the succeeding pages Luther's Testament has *Euangelion* on the left-hand pages and *Sanct Matthes.* on the right-hand pages. And Tyndale's Fragment has *The Gospell of* on the left-hand pages and *S. Mathew.* on the right-hand pages. Moreover, in the numbering or naming of the chapters Tyndale apparently follows Luther. Thus, Luther has *Das Ander Capitel.*, *Das Dritt Capitel.*, . . . *Das Sechst Capitel.*, etc., and Tyndale has *The Seconde Chapter.*, *The thryde Chapter.*, . . . *The Syxt Chapter.*, etc., however using Roman numerals beginning with the seventh chapter.

And in his *divisions of the chapters into paragraphs* he does not follow Erasmus, the Vulgate, or Wycliffe, or one of the older divisions; but he manifestly follows Luther here also. In only one case throughout the twenty-two chapters does he indicate a new paragraph; namely, in dividing into two paragraphs (XVIII. 15-18, 19-20) what appears as one in Luther. In only nine cases does he combine what constitutes two paragraphs in each case (II. 7-8, 9-12; V. 21-22, 23-24; X. 5-10, 11; X. 12-13, 14-15; X. 19-20, 21-22; XI. 20-24, 25-27; XVIII. 1-6, 7-9; XIX. 3-6, 7-9; XXI. 23-27, 28-32) in Luther's first three editions. These may have been omissions of paragraph indications due part-

ly to haste or oversight on the part of Tyndale and his assistants, or to that of his printer. In all other cases the paragraphs of his Fragment fully agree with those of Luther's Testament.

V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION



FROM the foregoing analysis it is seen that throughout the entire Cologne Fragment, both in form and substance, Tyndale generally very closely, and in places minutely, follows Luther's New Testament. But it is also seen that the translation itself, though in this also he quite freely follows Luther, is the most original part of this precious treasure of the beginnings of the English Reformation. Indeed, this is Tyndale's most valuable contribution to that great movement, and thus to the permanent enrichment of the Church and of his country and language.

It is also seen that justly to value or to magnify the importance of Tyndale's translation by pointing to the fact that it survives to so large an extent in King James' Version, as well as in the Revised Version, is therefore inadvertently also to emphasize an inherent dependence of those English versions upon Luther's great original Protestant Version. As the Bible, es-

pecially the New Testament, in those formative days of the English language, was the most generally read, and almost the *one* book, especially as England tended toward Protestantism, the natural result was the establishing of the language practically upon the English version of the Scriptures. And, as the successive versions were in large measure based upon that of Tyndale, mostly retaining its very phraseology, the language of Tyndale's version largely survives, not only in our present Bible, but even in the very language of the English-speaking world. Indeed, it is readily conceivable that if Tyndale's version had been different in its phraseology and had been equally followed by the succeeding versions, the English language of our day might be correspondingly different.

It must, therefore, be said that it was a fortunate circumstance for the English language that the first printed English version came from the pen of so noble a master of expression as was William Tyndale. It was an equally fortunate circumstance for the English Church, as indeed also indirectly for the English language, that that English master of expression sat at the feet, and even so freely used the work, of that consummate German theologian and translator, and even greater master of expression, Martin Luther.

Thus, though, in the interests of truth, Tyndale's scholarship and originality should not be exaggerated, his work must nevertheless unquestionably be regarded as great in its influence in the English reform-

atory movement and upon the English Church and language. And if the man, considered in the light of the times, be rated by such footprints of genius as he actually left, and if his work be in turn contemplated in connection with this measure of the man, then at this true valuation will it yet appear great to this generation. Thus such a proper and just measure of the man and of his noble work for the Church of Christ and for the history and language of the English speaking race, will not lower him in our estimation, as it shows him also to have been a leader among the great.

Therefore, our comparison of Tyndale with Luther, based upon their translations, should not minimize the former's work and make him appear smaller than he was among the heroes of the faith of that generation. But it may rather tend, by the contrast, to exalt, if that were possible, the unique personality of Tyndale's accepted incomparable master, and magnify that master's unparalleled work as original translator, theologian, reformer, and leader of men.

However, a comparison of Tyndale with Luther, as though he were his *equal* or belonged to his class—such as has sometimes been made—since the latter belongs to the few uniquely great men of all time, it might truly be said, would seem improper. With Tyndale, practically the one great work of his life was that of translating the Bible; and yet, apart from his translation of a few short passages, such as the Book of Jonah, his translation of the Old Testament extended

only to the end of II. Chronicles. And, of this, the part from the end of Deuteronomy to the end of Chronicles was left only in manuscript, to be incorporated by Rogers, his literary executor, into the so-called Matthew's Bible. His comparatively few theological and controversial tracts were rather incidents by the way. Even these—and especially the former—like his *introduction*, *prefaces* and *notes* accompanying his translations, were largely based upon the various writings of Luther. With Luther, on the other hand, the translation of the Bible, although he made a translation of the *whole* of it, and repeatedly revised and improved the same—however important it was for his work and for the world—was after all but an incident to the Herculean task of conducting and directing the great world movement of the Reformation. And yet, though Luther was of the same age as Tyndale, his mighty work was largely done when Tyndale suffered martyrdom. His work as theologian, professor, preacher, writer, controversialist and translator, was of such a colossal magnitude that, had it been the united work of a dozen eminent men, it would have made them all forever illustrious in the history of the great. Tyndale was a man indeed comparatively great among those heroes of the faith of his class, among whom he moved and with whom he labored. Luther was one of those few overtowering historic personalities that have turned the world's history into totally different channels and forever afterwards dominate the thought of the nations. Largely the composite product of the

century that also produced the Renaissance, by the religious Reformation Luther saved that intellectual movement from ending in infidelity and atheism. It was he that, in a sense, through these two mighty movements, broke the bonds of mediævalism and ushered in modern history. However great locally Tyndale and other men may have been, and however long some of their work may be an influence, Luther's work has in an altogether unique sense endured in the civilization, the liberty and the thought—no less than in the Church—of these centuries, and it must continue so to endure. In a real sense, he belongs to the twentieth century as truly as he belonged to the sixteenth, as indeed he will belong to all future time.

I N D E X

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